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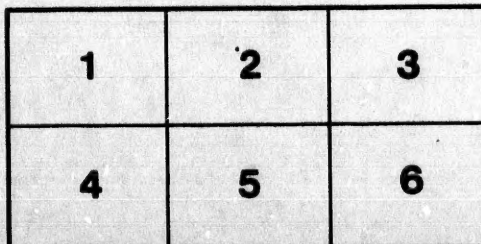
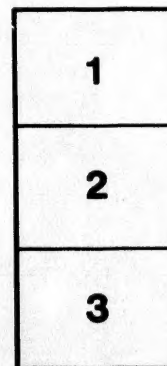
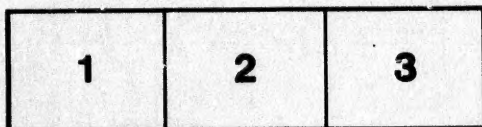
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THE LETTERS OF "A CONSTITUTIONALIST."

No. 1.

TO THE PEOPLE OF NOVA-SCOTIA.

"For, 'twas your zealous want of sense,
And sanctified impertinence,
Your carrying business in a huddle,
That forced our Rulers to remodel;
Obliged the State to tack about,
And turn you, root and branch, all out."

HUDIBRAS.

"For, as infection spreadeth upon that which is sound, and tainteth it, so, when envy has gotten once into a State, it traduceth even the best actions, and turneth them into ill odour."—Bacon.

GENTLEMEN,—

The institutions of our Country, under the improved practice which has resulted from your combined and persevering exertions, guided by men of public spirit and intelligence, render the confidence of the people, the only secure foundation upon which any government, or any party aspiring to influence the local administration, can safely take its stand. With that confidence, it has been shown, an opposition can overwhelm an unpopular Government; with that confidence, a Government, acting on sound principles, and doing its duty to the Country, may defy and put to shame the most virulent and factious opposition. To win and to preserve your confidence, then, would seem an object of laudable ambition to those who aim at the direction, or take an interest in the progress, of public affairs. During a quarter of the year, the constitutional mode of communication with you, is through the Debates, addressed to your representatives, in the two Houses of Legislation—during the other nine months, THE PRESS offers a ready mean of operating upon your feelings and appealing to your judgment. Those who fail to satisfy Parliament are already defeated, those who fail to satisfy the People themselves, may be ultimately, because the Parliament is made by the people; hence the necessity that exists for keeping the Country accurately informed, upon all those points, the decision of which may influence the Representation, and mould and controul the policy of the Government. For nearly eighteen months the leading minds of the Constitutional party have made but few appeals to the people through the Press—they have contented themselves with aiding the new Government in the passage of good measures, and in making such explanations in the Legislative Branches as were necessary to guide their deliberations, and preserve their confidence. In these respects they have been singularly fortunate—having met every charge—carried almost every measure, and disarmed, by the frank avowal of sound principles, and the manifestation of an anxious desire to do justice, even the few who, in the Legislature, for various reasons, gave them opposition. They have triumphed in the open arenas, where public men meet each other without fear, and without shelter. They have concealed nothing, shrunk from nothing, and carried with them Parliamentary support to an extent rarely exceeded in any country. It is not to be wondered at, then, that they should, while engaged with more important objects, have scorned to notice a thousand dastardly attacks, which concealed parties, too feeble, and too cowardly, to take the open field against them, have made from behind such shelter as is supplied by the use of the anonymous in the pages of an unscrupulous and profligate Press. By the coolness and steadiness they have displayed, in this respect, they have shown their strength, their moral courage, and their wisdom. But the time has now arrived when even these bushfighters should be dislodged,—when their own weapons should be turned against them—when the jungle should be cleared of the banditti that infest it, and a few salutary examples made by the Provost Martial, in order that the onward march of the Constitutional forces may no longer be impeded by this nuisance. This task, I assume as a volunteer. Others have more grave and responsible duties to discharge, in setting the heavy squadrons in the field, and conducting the main body—this light infantry service is quite to my taste. I enter upon it con amore—and if I do not bring the scalps of some of the more notorious of these lurking savages into the Constitutional camp, hanging to my girdle, then

has my eye grown dim, and my hand forgot its cunning. I invite you, my fellow countrymen, to witness this "wild hunt," partly because you have an interest in the result, and partly because you will find in it instruction as well as excitement.

To drop the figurative, however, and speak in plain English; my intention is to show up the characters of the worthies, who, through the Times, the Pictou Observer, in the City Council, the Public Offices, and Charitable Societies of Halifax, as well as in some of the Country Villages of Nova-Scotia, have earned for themselves the title of OBSTRUCTIVES. That these people deserve merciless castigation, and full exposure, no man can deny—they have sowed the wind, and must expect to reap the whirlwind. They have spared neither sex nor age—from the Governor and his amiable Lady, and the members of their household, down to the humblest individual in the Constitutional ranks, none have escaped. For the last eighteen months a system of organized and unprincipled defamation, aimed at the destruction of the public and private characters of every man that the people of Nova Scotia esteem, has been carried on. In the prosecution of this object, every wretched scribbler has been pressed into their service—and the looks and gestures—the public acts and private sentiments—the most hallowed relations of social life, have been paraded in the two vile prints they patronise, with every abuse of the malignant art of scurrilous distortion. All this while I have had my eye upon them, and hundreds of times I have asked myself the question—Is it possible that these men know how vulnerable they are?—how perfectly naked and defenceless?—how completely at the mercy of the feeblest pen in the opposite ranks? And the only answer I have been able to furnish, has been the old adage—"that those whom Heaven intends to destroy, it first makes mad."

The reasons for my interference are soon explained. Though a humble member of it, I have been one of those who, for many years, have acted and sympathised with the great party in this Country by whose exertions nearly all the important improvements in its condition have been wrought. I am personally acquainted with the leading men of that party—I have mixed with them in their public and in their private relations—I know their worth—their talents—their integrity; I have been a witness to the steadiness, the good humour, and the delicacy of feeling, they have displayed on the most trying occasions, and I will no longer submit to see such beauties as the Cogswells and Belchers criticising their personal appearance, and the irregularity of their features—William Lawson, Stephen Deblois, and Martin Wilkins, lecturing them on their want of regard for morality and decorum—Billy Gossip on their want of courage; nor such worthies as Bob Clarke, Jim Crosskill, and Jim Scott, finding fault with them for not paying their debts. In the course of these letters I will neither spare the miserable tools who have been thrust into the front rank of this black brigade, nor those who guide its movements, influence its deliberations, countenance its worst acts, and infuse, through their children, connexions and dependents, much of the venom and bitterness which defile its published effusions. Some of the latter imagine that their doings have been shrouded in darkness—that, while they have supplied the hint, or proffered the temptation, to the literary and social assassins who have done the dirty work of their party, they have managed so adroitly as to be able to say to their opponents "which of you can accuse us of the sin?" Their concealment might have been complete had their minds been cast in the same mould, but some of them are as remarkable for their want of caution and prudence, as others are for having it in excess. The cackling of some has betrayed the hiding places of all. They have been hidden as the bird is hidden, whose head is thrust into a crevice, but whose posterior and most ignoble parts are exposed to the eye, and lie at the mercy of the hand. Whether the vigor of my wrist be equal to the extent of my information, will be shown in the sequel. I think there will be feathers for sale before I have done, and that some foul birds, who are secretly hatching mischief, and others who are crowing lustily on the Pictou and Halifax dunghills, will be screeching for shelter, and flapping their shattered wings, before they are many weeks older.

I will not do this work by halves. The names of the Governor and his Lady—his Secretary, and his Aid—of Mr. Robie, Mr. Johnston, Mr. Stewart, Mr. McNab, Mr. Uniacke, Mr. Dodd, Mr. Dewolf, Mr. Howe, Mr. Young, Mr. Bell, Mr. Stairs, Mr. Annand, Mr. Lewis, Mr. Henry, Messrs. Chipman, Mr. Whidden, Mr. Wightman, nay, of every man at all conspicuous, either as a member of the present Government, or as a steady and consistent supporter of its measures, and of the new Colonial System, has been paraded, week after week, in the newspapers, coupled with every vile charge and foul insinuation, which could undermine their public characters, or wound the feelings of their political and personal friends. These men I hold to be second to none in this country, for weight of public reputation and high attainments. It is my intention to contrast some of them with those by whom they have been reviled, and I want you, my countrymen, to weigh the amount of the provocation, whenever you fancy that my strictures are too severe.

If, in showing up a certain bloated buffoon at Pictou, who, pipe in mouth, has for months defamed these men, I lay bare the motives of his family, but mercifully spare the vices of his private character; if, in rummaging roughly through the purlieus of the Customs and the Treasury, I make their occupants wish they had not turned their offices into centres for petty intrigue against the Representative of the Sovereign, and of heartless defamation of men who have spared them a thousand times, let no man say that they have not had more warnings, and more forbearance, than ever were given to Sodom and Gomorrah. Neither will I spare the mischief manufactories on Collins's wharf, nor fail to toss, like frostfish, every now and then, a string of the small fry of Hares and Harshaws, in the political frying-pan. All these worthies have deserved well at the hands of the present Government and its supporters, and verily they shall have their reward.

Before commencing this good work, let me ask you, my Countrymen, to turn over the pages of the Liberal Press for the last four years, and, after noticing the immense amount of original writing which has been addressed to the public during that period, remark how little of personality and invective are mixed up with the whole. Having satisfied yourselves of the moderation and good taste displayed by the men whose pens might, every week, have wounded the feelings of their opponents, but who preferred calm reasoning, and gentlemanly satire, to coarse epithets and slanderous insinuation, then open the volumes of the Times and Observer, and wade through the scurrilous slanders which disfigure every page. I have taken the trouble to measure the extent of this nuisance, for the last five months, and find that the party who lay claim to all the patriotism, refinement and gentlemanly feeling in the Country, have vomited forth, through the Times and Observer, about one hundred columns of misrepresentation and abuse, in that comparatively short space of time, to say nothing of the effusions of some half-bred legal loafers, occasionally oozing through a portion of the Penny Press. With this filth, almost every man of influence in the Constitutional party has been bespattered—their families have been assailed—and evidence given of an organized system of defamation. When you have reflected on all this, you will, I think, come to the conclusion, that merciless retaliation is the best and only mode of abating this nuisance. When sentries are shot, women and children murdered, and the usages of honorable warfare are disregarded, the only way to put down such practices is to gibbet those who are notorious offenders. I intend to give the Obstructives the benefit of Martial Law. I will give them, as long as they like to continue the system, shot for shot—blow for blow. If the ladies are to come in for their share of the pleasures of politics, the petticoats on their side shall be rumpled a little. We shall then see what the country think of the relative claims of the supporters of the present Government, and of their opponents, to respectability, virtue, and refinement—for never will I hold my hand, until I have not only scattered their arguments to the winds, but driven every arrow they have poisoned, through their folds of triple brass.

To one other class of facts, I wish to direct your attention, my fellow countrymen—because I am most anxious that, at the outset, you should feel that the Obstructives have deserved all they are likely to get. You are aware that there are in Halifax three or four National Benevolent Institutions, some of which have existed for half a century. These Societies have done a great deal of good, formed delightful réunions for all ranks and classes, and have never, within the memory of man, until very lately, been defiled by politics. The first attempt to turn them into political

clubs, was during the latter part of the administration of Sir Colin Campbell. When the Legislature of the whole Province declared against him, then his friends commenced stirring up the Charitable Societies of the Capital to *negotiate the voice of the Country*. Now that the Legislature has declared in favour of Lord Falkland, the same attempts are making to get those Institutions to *declare against him*. The result in both cases will be the same. But what shall be said of those who have dared to violate these sanctuaries of the best feelings of the community? To drag these Societies, which each man should endeavour to guard from pollution as he would his Church, for weeks at the heels of the ex-Mayor, and who have recently made one of them resound with insults to the highest personages in the land, and with ribald exhibitions of political buffoonery of the most unseemly description? Who ever heard of any liberal, at one of these boards, refusing to hear a member of Sir Colin's Government return thanks for his health?—or when did members of the Constitutional party refuse the honors to Miss Campbell, even in the most stormy periods of political excitement? Never;—but yet these things have been done of late by those who boast of all the refinement and good breeding of the Town, and it is but right that the worthies who do them should be held up to the scorn and contempt of the Country.

Another point, to which I wish to direct your attention, is the conduct of the Obstructives in the working of the new Corporation. You are aware that these people for years opposed the passage of the Act. When it was carried, however, by the combined action of the new Government, the liberals were disposed to forget the past, and were anxious that a system, which was intended for the benefit of all, should be worked out by the united exertions of the best men in the different wards, without reference to party politics. Some attempts of a few of their number were made, but were discountenanced, the liberals acting upon no organized plan, and voting, generally, with reference to no other consideration than the personal qualifications of the different candidates. Not so their old opponents. *Hating and contemning*, from its first inception, the whole measure, because it broke up the monopoly of municipal power and influence which they had long enjoyed, these people availed themselves of the good natured supineness of the liberals, to secure a majority in the City Council. That majority secured, the Corporation was at once turned into a political machine to annoy the general Government; and, of late, it has been used for the purpose of breaking through the Act itself, disfranchising one of the Wards of the City, and bringing the institution into contempt. In fact, it has now become quite evident, that the Obstructives deliberately contemplate verifying their own predictions,—that the Corporation would be a failure; and that they care not one farthing about it, further than as a means of personal and political annoyance. THE ELECTIONS OF THE CITY WILL PROBABLY REDRESS THIS GRIEVANCE before long, but, in the meantime, I wish the people of Nova Scotia to thoroughly understand the real character and manoeuvres of the faction who are disturbing the City of Halifax, because I am quite assured, that when once they fathom the designs of these men, they will heartily enjoy the merciless castigation which they have so well deserved.

For three all sufficient reasons, then, my Countrymen, I intend to give these worthies a dressing:

1st. Because they have, for months, overloaded two profligate Presses with abuse of my principles and my friends.

2d. Because they have attempted to turn the Charitable Societies of the Town into hot-beds of political discord; and

3d. Because they are trying to destroy the Corporation, and make it a curse instead of a blessing to the community in which I live.

These are my motives. Of the manner in which I shall perform my task, you are excellent judges, and I cannot doubt but that you will take a lively interest in this discussion. The man I intend to expose are your old enemies—those who, in various modes, and under different disguises, have sought for years to mislead you, and to obstruct every change and every measure intended for your benefit. To lay bare their characters and designs would seem to be a duty which the friends of the existing order of things owe to you as well as to themselves. For years, by combined efforts, and the advocacy of sound principles, we have defeated these men; and now, having left them no resource but spleenetic and intemperate opposition, I think I shall convince them that one pen, among the host that the supporters of the present Government could wield in defence of their characters and principles, is sufficient to make them ridiculous.

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[The writer of "A Constitutionalist" presents his compliments to Mr. Nugent, and regrets extremely that the publication of his first letter has subjected him to the annoyance of a personal assault, although he is pleased to hear that the gentleman took nothing by his motion, except—a flogging. He also understands that sundry other distinguished ornaments of the Obstructive party have been enclosing very pompously for his name. "A Constitutionalist" begs to enclose it, and Mr. N. is quite at liberty to communicate it to all comers, whenever the writers of the precious productions in the Times and Observer, to which he has referred, give to the public the same information, and to their opponents the same advantage. While they preserve and countenance the anonymous, he will maintain it—when they throw off their masks, his shall be thrown aside; in the meanwhile they may as well keep themselves cool, and swallow their "brimstone and molasses" as the lady used to do at "Do the Boys Hall," for fear of something worse.]

No. 2.

"Brave undertakers to restore,
That could not keep yourselves in power,
To advance the interests of the Crown,
That wanted wit to keep your own."

HUDIBRAS.

"Surely every medicine is an innovation, and he that will not apply new remedies must expect new evils: for time is the greatest innovator; and if time of course alter things to the worse, and wisdom and council shall not alter them to the better, what shall be the end?"—BACON.

Having explained to you the reasons which have led to the preparation of these papers, I will now, for a few moments, turn your attention to some of the leading points of difference between the Constitutionals and the Obstructive faction. Looking back to the history of these parties, we find—

1st. That the Constitutionals advocated the retirement of the Judges from the Legislature, and their exclusion from the heats and animosities of party politics. This improvement in our old constitution is entirely British, and was sanctioned by Her Majesty's Government.

The Obstructives opposed the change, and have ever since howled over the injustice of it. The best proof that they were wrong, and that we were right, is, that while Chief Justice Halliburton has led a life of more dignified independence of late years, than ever he did formerly—the Chief Justice of New Brunswick, who was not removed, is still trailing the ermine through the mire of politics, and is at open war with the Lieutenant Governor.

2nd. The Constitutionals denounced the absurdity of the Legislative Council sitting continually with closed doors—they declared that the Peers of England dared not to do this, and that scarcely any Legislative Chamber, in any Country pretending to be free, was chargeable with such an absurdity. This change is entirely British, and was sanctioned by Her Majesty's Government.

The Obstructives opposed it as a dangerous and unheard of innovation. They accused the leaders of the Parliamentary majority, who moved resolutions, and wrote addresses about it, of wishing to excite the populace to burst in the Council doors with sledge hammers; and, in fact, held out the idea that the moment the public were admitted to listen to the debates, there would be an end to British connexion.

3d. The Constitutionals denounced the practice of making the entire Legislative Council, who held their seats for life, the entire Executive also, with a right to govern the country in defiance of Governors and Parliaments—they contended that the members of the Executive Council, who were to be the Governor's advisers, and to aid him in conducting the administration, should be distributed through the two Legislative Branches, as in England, without the power to controul either, but dependent upon the co-operation and confidence of both. Need I say to you, that this practice is entirely British, and that it has been sanctioned by Her Majesty's Government?

The Obstructives worshipped the old system as the perfection of Colonial Government, and they denounced as disaffection, radicalism, and rebellion, every attempt which we made to cast off its monstrous anomalies. It was in vain that we pointed to the American Revolution—to the Canadian insurrections—to the constantly recurring collisions between the people and the Executive in New Brunswick, Prince Edward's Island and Newfoundland. They cared for none of these things, but clung to the belief that twelve old gentlemen must still continue to govern the Country, after their faculties were gone, and they had scarcely strength enough left to draw on their own breeches, leaving their seats to their heirs with the rest of their personal property. This is the beautiful Constitution to which the present opposition wish us to return.

4th. The Constitutionals contended, that, while Her Majesty's Representatives should, in every Colony, firmly exercise

the prerogative, and maintain a position of dignified independence, his advisers ought to bring with them into his Council the same pledges, as in England, of public confidence, from large bodies of the people—that these pledges should be revoked, or renewed, at every general election, and that, when withdrawn, the parties could no longer be useful either to the Governor or the Province, and that if they clung to the former, the Governor must share their unpopularity, and ultimately come into collision with the people. These opinions are British—no ministers presume to surround the Sovereign in England who cannot obtain seats in either House of Parliament. The sanction of Her Majesty's Government, as well as enlightened public opinion, have declared that henceforward the practice of the Mother Country is to prevail both in Canada and in Nova-Scotia.

The Obstructives vowed that there was no necessity for this mark of the people's confidence—that an old Revenue officer with one idea—an old privateer's man, who could not spell—or an old miser whose God was gold, not one of whom could get a seat for a Town or a County of the Province, or hold it if he had it, were the best possible advisers a Governor could get—nay, that they were the only ones he could get.—that, once taken, the Queen, or her Representative, could not dismiss them, and that the whole country would go to destruction if they were put aside.

5th. The Constitutionals contended, that, besides the check of re-election, upon the Members of Council individually, there should be the further check of a general vote of condemnation, upon the whole body, by a majority of the Representatives of the People, whenever the conduct of the Administration was so slovenly or unprincipled as showed that the Governor was evidently ill-advised. In asking this right for the Commons, we never dreamed of divesting the Representative of Her Majesty of the means of defending himself and the country from factious or unconstitutional aggression—by changing or dissolving his Council without a vote, or dissolving the House, and appealing to the country, should his advisers be unfairly attacked. This is the back bone, the leading principle, the sum and substance, of what is called in the Colonies "Responsible Government." Need I say that all this is British, and that the interested knaves and fools who content against it, are traitors to the Mother Country in the keenest sense, are disloyal to the whole genius and spirit and practice of her noble constitution. In Canada and in Nova Scotia this system has been introduced—its value is fully comprehended by the people. I do not believe that in any County in Nova Scotia, not even Pictou, a majority of the Constituency would be got to yield this privilege, if the question was fully understood. By whom has this great change been wrought? By the Constitutionals. By whom has it been opposed? By the Jeffreys, and Cogswells, and Collings, who insisted upon their right to govern the Country, when the Country had deliberately declared them incompetent—who refused to retire from Her Majesty's Council, even when Her Majesty informed them that she wanted no more of their advice. By these men has it been stoutly opposed, and by a motley and miscellaneous fragment of the population, who, for various reasons, disliked the change, or were pressed into the ranks of the opposition. Into the composition, conduct and motives, of these people, I shall enter by and bye; at present it is only necessary to say, that it is not to be wondered at that their leaders are very savage. The privilege they have lost—that of governing for life, whether the governor or the people required their services, was a great one—it is one that has not existed in England since 1688,—it is one which, thanks to the Constitutionals, and in spite of their opponents, no longer exists in British America.

6th. The Constitutionals contended that the natural tendency of an immovable, irresponsible Executive Council, was the hereditary transmission of office, and influence, and emoluments, from father to son—thereby creating a narrow, exclusive, social and political clique, at war with the people, hampering and controlling successive Governors, and enjoying and bequeathing offices and honors which they never earned. These cliques existed in all the Colonies, and in some were familiarly known as the Family Compacts. They have been smashed in several of them, and will be in all, for no British people ought to tolerate such a nuisance. Under what is called the "Responsible" system, none such can grow up. The people having the right, every four years, to get rid of bad Councillors by refusing to re-elect them—and the Representative Branch having the right to review and condemn the acts and appointments of the Governor, and to compel him to change his policy when these are not satisfactory, it is quite clear that no per-

manent clique or compact can hold possession of offices for life, much less transmit them to their relatives and descendants. The views of the Constitutionalists on these points, are British, and have been sanctioned by Her Majesty's Government.

The Obstructives of course opposed all this—it was contrary to their system: under that, the Land office was continued in the same family for three generations—the Secretary's Office and Treasury, for two—and, from the nature and spirit of a certain memorial, of which more anon, it is quite clear, that if the same practice has not been applied to the Excise, it is only because the opportunity, and not the will, was wanting. Hence the dislike of the Wallaces, the Binneys, the Wilkins, and some others, in Town and Country, to Lord Falkland and his Administration. Not satisfied with being left in their places undisturbed, during their natural lives, they are indignant that they cannot bequeath them to their children; and hence the intrigues, which they and their family connexions have fostered, in concert with the connexions and dependents of Collins, Cogswell & Co. and these two together, combined with a few persons who call themselves Conservatives, merely because they are geese, and have not brains enough to comprehend a political principle, make up the mighty opposition, whose doings and sayings are bragged of in the Times and the Observer, and whose powers have been so often tried by the Constitutionalists, that really beating or laughing at them has ceased to have any novelty in it.

7th. The Constitutionalists contended, that to have eleven out of twelve members of both Executive and Legislative Councils taken from the Town of Halifax, was wrong. They insisted that the intelligence and wealth of the Country Towns and rural districts entitled them to a fair proportion. Instead of one member, which was all the Country had, to represent it in these bodies, when the Constitutionalists began their labours in 1836, it has now thirteen. These improvements bring us nearer to the British model, and have been sanctioned by Her Majesty's Government.

The Halifax Obstructives opposed this change stoutly. A merchant, who had grown rich by accident or parsimony, or a banker who had fattened upon note shaving, or derangements of the Currency, thought he was entitled to a seat in the Council, whether he had any capacity for public business, or enjoyed the confidence of any portion of his fellow citizens, or not. Subserviency to the clique, was the passport to the Council, not knowledge of the Country, or the confidence of Towns and Counties. Of the twelve men who composed the Executive and Legislative Councils, when the Constitutionalists began their attacks upon them in 1836, not one was in the Representative branch,—but three had ever been there, and of these three, at least one had been kicked out by the people for tortuous and selfish legislation. The cry of the Obstructives was—"there are not fit men in the country." There are now in the Executive Council six men representing large constituencies in the most important sections of the Province, and, in the Legislative Council, seven who have been repeatedly elected to the popular branch.

8th. The Constitutionalists contended that to put but one Dissenter, and eleven Churchmen into the Council, which embraced Legislative and Executive functions, when four-fifths of the whole population were not of the favored communion, was absurd, unjust and impolitic. They asserted, and proved the fact, that the tendency of such a system was, to give a bias to legislation, and the distribution of patronage, which was altogether unfair to the mass of the people.

It is needless to add that the Obstructives talked a great deal of nonsense on this point, called their opponents infidels, and swore they wanted to destroy the Church. It is apparent, from the fact, that Dissenters have now no reason to complain, that Her Majesty's Government have approved our views—discountenanced theirs, and removed the grievance.

9th. The Constitutionalists were in favor of conferring Corporate privileges upon the people of Halifax, believing that the practice of the Mother Country, and of most others where there was much of liberty and civilization, sanctioned their views.

The Obstructives fought tooth and nail against the measure—swore that no decent man would accept office under it, and yet, have been scrambling, ever since the Bill passed, for every place of honor or profit which it created.

10th. The Constitutionalists have contended for a sound paper Currency, and have invariably denounced and opposed the practice of issuing Bank Notes, not redeemable in specie. One of them

saved the Town from the misery and disgrace of Republican example in 1837.

Collins, Cogswell & Co., through their mouth-piece, the Vice President of the St. George's Society, used to declare, that no Bank could do business in this Country, that paid its notes in specie, and that paper, redeemable in nothing, was an excellent thing for the Blue Noses to conduct their transactions with. It is needless to add that our views of this question were British—those of the Obstructives, the same that have ruined the United States.

11th. The Constitutionalists have ever been in favor of opening the Outports to the benefits of foreign Trade. They have not feared competition, and have felt, that while seeking their own rights, they should respect the rights of others. The Delegates settled this question, with the entire sanction of Her Majesty's Government.

The Obstructives, almost to a man, stoutly opposed the concession, and thereby proved their intense affection for the people of the seaport Towns, and of the Province at large, whom now, for their own selfish purposes, they are seeking to delude. Conservatism, in Nova Scotia, means, confining the Trade of the Country to a few ports—education to one denomination, and honors and office, to a few families.

12th. The Constitutionalists carried the Quadrennial Bill, by which the Constituency have an opportunity of approving or condemning the conduct of their Representatives once in four years, instead of once in seven. This change brings us nearer to the British practice, because, although not provided for by Statute, Parliaments rarely live, on an average, over four years. Her Majesty's assent has been given to this Bill.

The Obstructives opposed it from the beginning—delayed it for a year or two, but at length were compelled to yield.

13th. The Constitutionalists carried the Bill by which it was provided that any member of the House, accepting any of five or six of the most lucrative offices in the gift of the Government, should vacate his seat, and appeal to his constituents for their decision upon his conduct. This practice you know is British, and you are also aware that the Bill has been sanctioned by Her Majesty's Government.

14th. The Constitutionalists have ever asserted a confident reliance upon the loyalty and true British feeling of the Lower Provinces—upon their intelligence and capacity for self-government, under Representative Institutions, moulded to the same form, and animated by the same spirit, as those of the Mother Country, and worked in subordination to the paramount controul of Parliament, and the higher interests of the empire.

The Obstructives have been shrieking disaffection and rebellion at every corner, whenever any of the rights were demanded, or grievances complained of, which I have shown, in the above paragraphs, have all been sanctioned or removed by Her Majesty's Government. They hate and distrust each other, and have no confidence in the mass of the people. They have no comfort in the past—little reliance on the future—no system, and no principles, upon which public men can take their stand, or out of which a popular Government, or even a decent opposition, could be formed.

I have numbered these fourteen paragraphs, my fellow countrymen, because they will thus be more easy of reference, and more readily preserved in your memories. They contain the main grounds upon which the two parties in this Country have differed, and will serve to show you whether the men who wrought these changes, or a rump of the party by whom they were opposed, are best entitled to your confidence. I do not speak now of the Government, as such, or of its acts, but of the nature and composition of the party by whom it is assailed in the Press, the Societies, and the City Council, and of the party who constitute its real strength, in the contest which it is carrying on for its own views, measures, and principles. My object now is, to show, that the people who at this moment are opposing Lord Falkland's Government, in the Times and Pictou Observer, are precisely the same people who have earned for themselves the title of Obstructives, by opposing every sound principle, and beneficial change, included in my fourteen paragraphs, sanctioned by the example of the Mother Country and approved by Her Majesty's Government. Fix your attention on these paragraphs, my fellow-countrymen—recall the struggles of the past—the lies so often told, and so often refuted, and, whenever you hear Cogswell, Wilkins & Co. howling at you through the Times and Observer, just wink to them, and ask—"Oh! it is you, is it? Do your followers know you are out?"

No. 3.

In vain seditious scribes with libel strive
To inflame the crowd, while he, with watchful eye,
Observes, and shouts their treasons as they fly.

DRYDEN.

They shall be famed, for there the sun shall greet them
And draw their honors reeking up to heaven.

SHAKESPEARE.

In my first letter I described to you the nature of the provocation which induced me to take up my pen,—in my second I brought under review the main grounds of difference between the Constitutional party, who sustain the present government, and the Obstructives, who oppose it.

From what has been said you will have perceived that the sources of the opposition are two-fold.

1st. It comes from Jeffrey, Collins & Co. who were dismissed from the Council by positive instructions from Home, who refused to retire when Her Majesty informed them that she no longer required their services, and who insisted upon their right to hold their seats for life, until Lord Falkland was compelled to turn them out, almost by main force.

2nd. From certain persons, who wish to transmit their offices to their children, whether the young hopefuls have earned your confidence and respect or not, and their friends.

Out of these materials has sprung a party, very different from the old one, which opposed many of the changes that have since been sanctioned, and which supported the Government of Sir Colin Campbell. The old party was respectable in point of numbers—it had a representation of at least one third of the Assembly—it was led by Uniacke, Stewart, Dodd, men of talent, eloquence and experience—it had support from such men as Fairbanks, Dewolf, and others, who gave it weight in the House and in the Country. It had the Government in its hands, and the Colonial Office at its back—it had the monopoly of official influence and information—it had the usages of half a century, and the sympathies of all those who dislike change of any sort, on its side—it had a common bond of union, which was to defend things as they were, and resist every kind of innovation. It made a gallant and a good fight, and it maintained its ground handsomely, until nearly all the old causes of quarrel had been swept away, and then the best materials of the party shewed their sense, and their true patriotism, by combining with the leaders of the old majority, to work out a new system, which required, on its first introduction, the united skill and prudence of the most able men the Country could furnish. You will perceive, then, that there is a marked distinction between the old government party, and the beautiful association of genuine patriots, formed by Jeffrey, Collins & Co. out of its rump. Contrast the two for a moment. Let all Nova Scotia look on and laugh at the spectacle which these people exhibit. I say nothing of the old Reformers now: whatever talent they have, whether directly aiding Lord Falkland or not, is ready at a moment's warning to do battle against the RUMP—I am merely showing up the materials of which the party that now troubles the Town, and seeks to mislead the Country, is composed. The old party was led by Robie, Johnston, Uniacke, Stewart, Dodd and Fairbanks, men confessedly at the head of the Bar, and the brightest ornaments of the Senate. All these now support Lord Falkland, and by whom are they opposed? Just look at the ragged regiment:

Sandy Primrose, member for no-where, with a most extraordinary looking pair of tartan trousers on, donned to make the members of the Scotch Societies, and the Freeholders of Inverness, believe, that the Lowland son of a decent old Antiburgher and Clergyman, is a great Kirkman and Highlander.*

Andrew Uniacke, who has neither the gait, manners, features, nor brains of the family. Much more might be said, but I respect the feelings of others, and wrapping their mantles round him, pass him off the stage.

Billy Sutherland. This bright luminary began his career as a flaming democrat—a scribbler in the Pieton Patriot, and a warm supporter of Jotham Blanchard. He is now a great Conservative, and whenever there is any little odd jobs to be done, for the benefit of the party, Billy Sutherland is always to the fore.

Henry Pryor. This is a sly fellow, with spectacles on, who is Broker to Cogswell's Insurance Office, and married to the daughter of a Canada Judge, just laid on the shelf by Sir Charles Bagot—

* This gentleman has gone to Britain since the above was written. I should have struck it out, but happened to remember that the Obstructives never ceased abusing Young and Howe, when they were in Canada or in England.

so that he has sundry motives for his little dislike of the new system. He may have had a cause or two, and may have made a speech, but never having heard a rumour of such improbable events, I can give no information.—Cogswell would insure him for half a per cent. from ever setting the world on fire.

Charles Hill Wallace. Another bright luminary, whose grandfather having left him a Nova Scotia fortune, i. e. enough to live on and keep a horse, spends his time in various genteel amusements, too tedious to mention. He does a good deal of the hissing and hooting at public meetings, and is supposed to have been exceedingly disappointed, in not receiving the appointment of Commissioner for Indian Affairs, from the intimate knowledge he had acquired of the more attractive members of the tribe.

Nepean Clarke. Son of Davy Shaw, who, considering that the most unpopular acts which the members of the present Government ever did, were pensioning his father, and providing for his brother, might have the decency to be grateful.

John C. Halliburton. Son to the Chief Justice and brother-in-law to Collins. This young gentleman is too well known, for various reasons, to require a special notice. He holds the office of Clerk to the Legislative Council, by appointment from the Governor. I will say no more harm of him than this, that I am at a loss to conceive how a man of proper spirit can keep a commission in his pocket, and yet oppose a Government of which he is the servant.

Leonard S. Shannon.—a sprig of the Law, conceited but harmless; son of one of the old Magistrates, that Howe laughed at on the trial for libel, and who has ever since disliked every thing that Howe had a hand in, whether good or bad.

There are some other small fry of young lawyerlings, but these are the best of them, with one exception, of which I shall speak by and bye. These are the choice troops of the new party—the prime men of the RUMP—the lusty legal warriors, that "Collins, Cogswell & Co" have sent into the field to redress their wrongs, and to battle against Lord Falkland for the lost seats. Don't you wish they may get them? Now I ask you, my fellow Countrymen, to look at these people, not through the trash they scribble in the Times and Observer, but as they are, in their own proper persons, with all the weight of their talents and acquirements upon them. Are they not a beautiful collection? Suppose such a thing as Johnston, Stewart, or James Uniacke, let loose upon them—either of these would trample down the whole batch like grass-hoppers. If they were all rolled into one, would there be talent enough to make a Crown Officer? Suppose these bright youths, instead of wasting their precious brains, scribbling letters for the Times and Observer, were to spread themselves over the country, and meet the members of the Government, and their supporters, on the hustings, is there a Town or County in Nova Scotia that would turn out even the least competent, or least popular, member of the Executive Council, to put in one of these great statesmen?

But there is one other legal champion of the RUMP, who requires a more extended notice: it is Beamish Murdoch. This person I would gladly pass over, for the blunders and failures of his career have been a sufficient punishment for his sins, whatever they are; but it is now pretty well understood that Murdoch is a constant contributor to the Halifax Times—that if he does not write all the scurrilous and defamatory articles, he writes some of them; and gives, by his contributions, and by his association with those who write others, open and positive encouragement to the manufacture of the worst libels upon the supporters of the present Government. Over and over again has this person been spared, because he has some good points about him which excite compassion. He is a hard student—good hearted, and amiable in his manners, but feeble in body and mind—his stomach don't appear to digest what he has eaten, nor his brain what he has read; and he has lived so much among old women that he has become very like an old woman himself. He is one of those persons of whom it is said

"Some, whom kind heaven has blest with store of wit,
Want just as much again to manage it."

Murdoch's career has proved his lamentable want of judgment. He once got in for Halifax, in opposition to an old man who could not speak, and against whom the coarsest outpourings of the populace were excited—he now appears to have a great horror of mobs and democratic license. At that time, there being no great union or public spirit among the natives of the Province, he went to the hustings with a huge shamrock in his bosom, boasted of the Irish blood in his veins, and told the Irishmen of an altar-cloth which one of his grandmothers had worked for a Catholic Chapel. Now

he is a great Novascotian, says nothing about the altar-clothes with St. George instead of St. Patrick, and affects to hate a papist as he does the devil.

Murdoch, taking part with the country in the Brandy question, the Halifax compact, who were then all powerful, and who wielded immense influence through the only Bank then existing, crushed him. Even his own relatives turned upon, smote, and denounced him. Murdoch, some time ago, called the present a mongrel Government, because the members of it had formerly differed, and acted at opposite sides. But who does he act with? With old Deblois, the Vice President of St. George's Society, whose ancestors he called the scum of the earth, and who opposed and beat him on the Halifax Hustings; with Jeffrey, Binney & Co., whose whole official influence, and Collins, Cogswell & Co. whose paper money influence, were employed to prostrate him in 1830. He was then their victim—he is now their tool. Twice have they thrust him forward, as a dernier resort, when all other attempts to divide the forces of the Constitutionalists had failed—and twice have the people of Halifax cast him aside. This has been done more in sorrow than in anger; and now, nothing but his participation in a system of organized defamation, would tempt me to parade his follies before the public.

The heartless and cruel conduct of the Halifax faction, towards their dupe, is really enough to excite compassion. From 1836 to 1840, a period of four years, from the time when he was put forward, with Starr, to oppose Bell and Forrester, though that party were in possession of all the patronage and influence of the government, and although they well knew that Elections had impaired his means, they never gave him a seat in Council, or an office worth one farthing. This was bad enough—but, at the last Election, he was again brought forward to oppose Howe and Annand. Keith was his partner in the war, Binney, Collins, Deblois, &c. his firm supporters. One would naturally suppose, that, having twice induced him to make a fool of himself for their amusement, they would have had some gratitude, and have seized the first opportunity of making him some amends. But, whoever will trace the history of our clique, will find that they never had much gratitude. Mark their conduct to Murdoch. The Recordership of Halifax was in the market—his dear friends had a majority in the City Council, and could have given it to him—but no—a number of the liberals, whom he helps to malign, voted for him: but his dear friends—Keith, Binney & Co. voted against him, thereby *showing their love, by keeping £200 a year out of his pocket*. In dismissing, then, this person from consideration, I may frankly acknowledge, that he is the only Lawyer, of any talent or standing in the Capital, who will stoop to defile his fingers with the rump; but I think you will agree with me that at least a dozen, of infinitely more ability and discretion, may be found in the opposite ranks, and that therefore it would be a pity to deprive the amiable confraternity, of whom he is confessedly the best man, of the only one they have. They are welcome to him—he may continue to rake their nuts out of hot ashes, till he has not a claw left. The Constitutionalists have done their work without him—much of it in spite of his puerile opposition, and are perfectly indifferent whether he spends his time weaving fabrics for the Times, or in working altar-cloths, as some other old women of his family did before him.

I have devoted this letter, my countrymen, to a review of the composition of the legal material with which the new opposition of Collins, Cogswell & Co., and Jeffrey, Binney, & Co. have taken the field. I have paraded them before you that you may weigh and estimate their combined talent, judgment, and claims to public favour. Look at them—did you ever see such a troop? Would you march through Coventry with them, even if Sandy would consent to wear kilts, and had a bag-pipe under his arm? No, my fellow Countrymen, I know you too well, and you know them too well—and the history, principles, and designs, of the people by whom they are moved. Whenever, therefore, you take up the Halifax Times, and read some monstrous falsehoods—some gross misstatements of facts—some horrible charge against the Constitutional party, or the Government which they support, just glance your eye along the picture gallery I have sketched for your amusement, and you may almost detect the writer, by the few characteristic touches with which I have endeavoured to confer upon these worthies a degree of immortality that each and all have so well deserved.

My object, in this letter, has been, to show that the old Government party, and the present opposition in Halifax, are not the same; to

show that the best materials of what used to be called the Conservative party are now with the Constitutionalists and with the Government; and to let the Country see that, shutting Howe, Young, and all the old reformers, entirely off the stage, the contrast which must be drawn between such men as Robie, Johnston, Stewart, Uniacke, Dodd, and Fairbanks, and the Shannons, Pryors, and Murdochs, the rump of their own old party, whom Collins, Cogswell & Co. are hallooing on their heels, is so absurd, that one can scarcely allude to it without laughing. As respects law, some members of the Government could say, with truth, that they have forgotten more than five out of six of these zanies ever learnt; and as respects politics, there is not one of them that has the tact or discretion to lead a party in the Legislature for a single week. The Times, a month ago, declared that the Conservative party had cast off Johnston, Stewart and Uniacke. If this be true, the Country, with the information I have given them, can duly estimate the idols which they have set up in their stead. The fact is, that these gentlemen have cast of a wretched fragment of their old party, who had not brains enough to understand the difficulties of their position; and, while their talents are employed in the service of a Government conducted upon Constitutional principles, they will have the support of the great body of their Countrymen by whom those principles are revered.

No. 4.

Had they not begun the war,
They'd ne'er been sainted as they are.

BUTLER.

There is no more faith in thee, than in a stewed prune; nor no more truth in thee than in a drawn fox.

Sirrah! there's no room for faith, truth nor honesty, in this breast of thine, it is all filled up with guts and midriff.

SHAKESPEARE.

Having, in my first letter, explained the nature of the provocation which induced me to write—in my second, given you the great leading principles which formerly divided the two parties in this Country—in my third, shown that Lord Falkland has got the best materials of the old Government party to assist the Constitutionalists in working out the new principles, and that the Halifax opposition is composed of but the rump of that party; I will now turn your attention to the precious auxilia, which these people have pressed into their service at Pictou.

Let it not be supposed, that, in travelling east, I am loosing sight of the drunken doctors, orange haberdashers, and slovenly, or short memoried knights of the hammer, who deserve to be immortalized among the other worthies in the metropolis. Their time will come by and bye: when I have to describe to you the unique assemblage of gentlemen* who hissed Mr. Uniacke, and refused to drink Lady Falkland's health, at the St. George's dinner, if I don't make these, the dirtiest, and least symmetrical links of Cogswell and Company's tail, rattle, like the tail of a snake, then say my pen is nought. Gentlemen, forsooth.

By the fame of granny Fan,
We'll see who's the gentleman.

Enough of these people for the present, turn we now to Pictou.

You are aware, my Countrymen, that the County of Pictou has, for many years, been the scene of most unseemly strife between two bodies of Presbyterians. For a long time, the majority in the County belonged to what is called the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia, having a Provincial Church Government, in connexion with, but independent of, the Secession Churches of Scotland. These people were supporters of the voluntary principle in religion, and generally acted with the liberal party in politics. The Pictou Academy sprung up under their auspices, and was supposed to be coloured by their opinions. That Institution, it was apprehended, would grow into a dangerous rival to the one at Windsor—and the politics of its founders were distasteful to the officials in Halifax. Hence two parties became interested in stirring up a division among the people of Pictou—those who wished to destroy the Pictou Academy, and those who feared danger from the professors of liberal political opinions. These parties united against the Presbyterians of Nova Scotia, destroyed the Pictou Academy, and have been rewarded by the growth of three other Colleges in places they never dreamt of—they also succeeded in securing a majority against the liberals in the County, but found,

* Vide Observer.

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to their astonishment, that liberal politics had become the order of the day throughout Nova Scotia. Circumstances favored their views in this County. Vast numbers of Highlanders, many of whom could not speak the English language, but who belonged to the Kirk, and not to the Secession Church, were poured into Pictou from Scotland. Some of these joined the latter, but the majority, as soon as they could get preachers, particularly those who spoke Gaelic, preferred adhering to their own Kirk. All this was quite natural, but there was no more reason why the Presbyterians of Pictou should fight like cats and dogs, merely because they went to different churches, and paid different pastors, than that the Baptists and Presbyterians in Cornwallis should, nor half so much. Neither would they, had they been let alone. But certain people in Halifax wanted the aid of the Scotch Kirkmen to further their own views, and have never ceased to fan and keep alive a bitter spirit of animosity, among the Presbyterians of that fine County, and which, upon every occasion, whenever their own schemes, and their own interests, with which the Presbyterians, there, or elsewhere, have really no concern, require them to call in the aid of auxiliaries, is sought to be revived and directed for the basest of party or personal objects. Let it not be supposed, that I wish to palliate or defend the conduct of the leaders of the other Pictou party, at all times. They may not have exhibited towards the Kirkmen, the charity, forbearance and brotherly love, which would have been commendable—they may not have received Christian Ministers, who happened to differ from them, with the respect to which they were entitled—or, they may, while they had the political influence, have been too exclusive in the distribution of patronage—but, whatever may have been the faults and the follies of either party, in Pictou, I am content to pass them over lightly, for this reason, that, while in the strife both have been the greatest sufferers, both have, in reality, been the least to blame; both are getting heartily ashamed of their divisions, and have met over the ruins of an institution, which might have been a blessing to the Country side, if not to mourn its fate, to discuss their interests like gentlemen, and try to found another. So far, so well—but their old enemies like not these symptoms of reconciliation. There are always a few worthies in Halifax, and elsewhere, who want the Kirkmen of Pictou. Collins, Cogswell & Co. want them now—hence the revival of the Pictou Observer—the Rump not only lend it patronage, some of them subscribing for several copies, but they lend it an Editor too; and this brings me to

THE WILKINS FAMILY,

without a perfect knowledge of the merits, services and designs, of which, it is quite impossible for a man to understand the Pictou Observer. A good deal is said at times about the family influences which are brought to bear upon our public affairs, but I am not aware that the House of Wilkins has received the share of notoriety to which it would appear that it is so eminently entitled. It has been for months pretty well understood, that one hopeful scion of this illustrious house has been the real, if not the ostensible, Editor of the Pictou Observer throughout the winter; and as that paper has been pouring the most foul abuse upon every man of intellect and influence in the Country, the Lieutenant Governor and his Household not excepted, it is time to examine the motives and designs of a person who has thus endeavored to pervert the press to serve his own selfish purposes. One would have thought that the only member of a family yet unprovided for at the public expense, might have the modesty to hold his tongue and bide his time, and not publicly expose the purity of his motives for opposing the present Government, by bleating forth the wrongs of "my brother Lewis," who would no doubt have ordered "brother Martin" to write editorials in praise of the Administration, if the Secretaryship of the Province had only been added to the rest of the family inducements "to be good boys" and "take care of themselves."

The Wilkins family consists of four members; it is very fortunate that it is not more numerous, for three-fourths of the whole are provided for by the public, and the only one not paid by them spends his time in abusing the Government, which maintains the rest, for not doing any thing for him or giving them half enough. You, my fellow Countrymen, already take care of

Judge Wilkins,—Judge of the Supreme Court.

Charles I. Wilkins,—Sheriff of Hant's County.

Lewis M. Wilkins,—Judge and Registrar of Probate, Master in Chancery, and member of the Legislative Council.

These are all pretty well provided for,—they cost quite as much as they are worth; but yet the House of Wilkins is not satisfied. Their blood is up, and their cry is that of the horse leech, "give—give." I have heard it said, during the winter, that brother Lewis was doing his best to embarrass the Government in the Legislative Council, and lending his aid to a certain personage there, who likes the hereditary succession to office quite as well as even the apostolic succession. I could scarcely believe this, but was told that one of the reasons was, because the new Probate Bill, brought in by the Government, separated the offices of Judge and Registrar; and, as brother Lewis held both, this was a reason good for his disinterested declamation in the Upper House. But it appears that there was a stronger motive. Brother Martin has let the cat out of the bag in the Pictou Observer:

"When Sir Rupert George was about leaving the Province, he expressed a wish to appoint, as his official substitute, a gentleman of what Mr. Howe calls the Conservative party. Now, no man will pretend to say, that Mr. Wilkins, who, for a number of years, represented a part of the people in the Assembly, and now occupies a seat in one of Her Majesty's Councils, and whose education, abilities, and integrity, in every respect qualified him for the situation, would not have filled it without discredit or damage to the Province. But no, he did not hail under the flag of Responsible Government,—he did not belong to the Governor's party, and therefore Sir Rupert George's request, reasonable as it certainly was, was denied, and we presume he left the Province with feelings of disappointment and annoyance, and, when he left it, he did not leave a more gentlemanly and honourable man behind him—not even with one exception."

This is very rich. Brother Lewis, who, in addition to other pickings, had just fobbed £500 as a Delegate from the Council, wanted to fob £500 more for playing Secretary for twelve months—but Lord Falkland, having a pretty shrewd conviction, that, to appoint to the most important office under his Government, a man who had contrived to render himself obnoxious by his outrageous ultraism and rapid declamation, would not be a very wise act, civilly declined. He probably thought that it was not a very "reasonable request," for an officer who had just obtained a year's leave of absence, and who was to receive from the public during this long holiday £1000 for doing nothing, to ask to appoint the person, for the correct performance of whose duties the Governor, not he, was to be responsible, during his absence; who was to hear all the deliberations of the Executive Council, and be brought into constant and confidential intercourse with the Governor himself. Perhaps he thought that a man like Mr. Whidden, who had never been much mixed up in politics—who had never come into violent collision with either party—who possessed the confidence of both, and who was, moreover, a thorough working man, which is much more than can be said of any member of the illustrious House of Wilkins, would suit him, and suit the Country, a great deal better than the ex-delegate. Is there a sensible man in the Province who does not think he was right?—is there a man who does not acknowledge that Mr. Whidden has done credit to the discernment displayed by His Excellency, in making the selection? But, then, brother Martin cannot forget the slight to brother Lewis. The family exchequer is minus just £500. Methinks I hear him, once a week, at least, exclaim to the ostensible editor of the Observer, "Roderick, my boy, chop up a piece of your own tobacco and fill my pipe, I must have another slap at Lord Falkland, Howe, and the Responsibles. Responsible Government must be a humbug, when my brother Lewis, (who was quite willing to have taken office under it,) is not appointed Secretary—the Province must be going to ruin when the House of Wilkins has lost £500."

I have said that the House of Wilkins consisted of but four members, but some of the editorials in the Observer have reminded me that there is

THE BINNEY BRANCH.

Judge Wilkins and the Hon. H. N. Binney, married sisters; so that the editor of the Pictou Observer, and our Ex-Mayor, are own cousins—the Judge being uncle to the Mayor, and the Collector being uncle to the Editor. The simple public, never, perhaps, thought of all this, but it has been quite understood by the knowing ones for many a month past. The fact will, perhaps, explain how it happened, that almost immediately upon the dismissal of "my cousin Stephen," "my cousin Martin," broke out so fiercely about the inmates of Government House, in the Observer. It will also explain the reason why the Observer has been of late so furious, because Lord Falkland did not, on the first application, pass over all the leading men in both branches of the Legislature, many of whom have served the Country for years gra-

voluntarily, and are known and appreciated all over the Province, to bestow one of the best offices in his gift upon a young man, whose name hardly a dozen people out of the Town of Halifax ever heard of—who has passed through none of the trials of public or private life, who has been paid for every hour's time given to the public, and who, however amiable, has no more claim to his father's office, than any Bank Clerk has to be its President—than any clerk in the Post Office has to be Post Master General—than Martin Wilkins has to succeed his father—than John Halliburton has to be Chief Justice, or Peter Archibald, Master of the Rolls. There is no reason why a man's son should not succeed his father at the head of a public department in a Colony, if he has passed through those grades which place him in the front rank of its public men; but there is certainly no reason why all the clever men of the Country should be set aside, to make way for a person in no manner distinguished from fifty other clerks in public offices, merely because his father held the place before him. This would be rank injustice to the fifty other clerks whose fathers had not been so fortunate—to the men of talent and experience, gratuitously serving the Government and the Country—and to the Sovereign, the Colonial Secretary, and the Colonial Governors, who, under such a system, would be expected to make bricks without straw, or to secure the assistance of the leading minds of British America, to aid in governing it satisfactorily, without having any thing to give them. The natural tendency of the hereditary succession to office, is to foster a clique—to deprive the crown of all real patronage, and a Governor of all real power—in fact, to surround him with imbeciles and red-tape men, and to array against him every man of energy and talent, who chafes at a system of unjust and impolitic exclusion.

All this has been transparent for several years: Lord Durham exposed the system—Lord Sydenham scouted it—Sir Charles Bagot gives the highest offices to men of high talent; and, in fact, there is no dogma of the olden time which has been more completely exploded, than that which tolerated the hereditary succession to office, upon the ground, that the son of a man who had been all his life handsomely maintained out of the public revenues, had a better claim to the favour of government, than the sons of all the other men who had supported it by their contributions, but had never drawn from the Treasury which their resources maintained, one farthing. The case may be stated thus:

A. draws, in 50 years, from the public revenues, £40,000 currency. Ergo, B. his son, has a better right to a good office than C. D. E. and F. the sons of all the other men, who have paid the £40,000, without ever receiving a sixpence.

All this is now understood to be good Colonial nonsense. In England it has been nonsense for centuries,—of all the men now at the heads of important departments in England, I scarcely know one who has succeeded his father. Ask Sir Robert Peel to make a man a Lord of the Treasury—of the Admiralty—Home, or Foreign or Colonial Secretary, merely because his father had held the office, and employed him as clerk, and what would he say? It is folly to speculate on what he would say, because there is not a man in England who would be simple enough to put such a question.

But, to this, the sheet anchor of their admirable system of Government, of course the clique in Nova Scotia cling—give them this, and they know you give them, from generation to generation, the public chest—the money influence of the government—substantial power. Cut this, their best cable, and you set their barks sailing over the stormy seas of public life, dependent upon courage and science; and they know that while others proudly ride the waves, they will go down to the bottom, “unwept, unhonoured, and unsung.” Hence the strong effort made by Cogswell & Co. to coerce Lord Falkland back to the old system, in the matter of the Excise; and hence the piteous lubrications of the Observer, on the same subject, to which the near relationship between the editor and the aspirant, has given peculiar fervour.

Into this particular case, it is not my intention to go much at large at present. I would not have touched upon it at all, but for the monstrous indecency that the Obstructives have shown about it. I have taken the trouble to inquire of those, who, after what has been published, felt quite at liberty to afford information,

know something of the facts, and, having stated these, will leave the public to judge for themselves. Some four months ago, an officer in the Excise Department waited on Lord Falkland, and apprised him that old Mr. Binney had not been at the office for weeks, and was expected to die, and asked the office, on the ground of long service, for himself. This was the first intimation that the Governor received of the office being likely to fall into his gift, not from a “hungry expectant Responsible”—not from a self-seeking member of his Council, but from an officer of Mr. Binney's own Department. Shortly after, a Clerk in another Department claimed the office, on the ground that it was promised to him by Sir Colin Campbell*—but, lo! a third Obstructive appeared, who asked the office because he had been a member of the Board of Revenue. To all these applicants, I believe, Lord Falkland civilly replied, that, in the event of the contemplated contingency occurring, he would consider their several claims. By and bye the Ex-Mayor arrived from England, and, as he did not bring a new Governor out in his pocket, it was thought best to see what could be done with the old one, and Mr. Edward Binney was sent to Government House, with the modest request to Lord Falkland, that he should show his sense of the bitter hostility, and personal annoyance, which the family had exhibited towards him, by giving them an office worth £700 a year. This was pretty cool, but the public will mark the fact, that, up to this moment, there were four Obstructives who “stood in need of money,” pressing for this office, neck and neck; not one Responsible having yet applied for it. There was a beautiful scramble among these refined and gentlemanly people, for the sick man's office—his shoes were on him, yet there were four Obstructives squabbling to know who should wear them, when Mr. Binney was dead. Thus far they had it all to themselves—and “every man for himself,” and the “devil take the hindmost,” was the cry among the Obstructives. When Mr. Binney applied, Lord Falkland, thinking, perhaps, that it would be unfair to excite hopes, which might not be realized, informed him that, according to the policy he had laid down, the public departments were, as they became vacant, to be given to men of talent and influence, who had served in the Legislature or were members of his Government. This announcement had an extraordinary effect on the Obstructives, who, fearing somebody not of their set might get the office, a “consummation devoutly to be dreaded,” immediately ceased contending among themselves, and united against the common enemy. A memorial was got up, and circulated slyly, addressed to the Board of Revenue, and then Cogswell, Chairman of said Board, and one of the leaders of the Obstructives, wrote a letter, which was signed by H. H. Cogswell, L. Hartshorne, W. Lawson and Charley Wallace, not one of them a supporter of his Government, civilly telling Lord Falkland how to dispose of patronage which had not yet fallen into his hands. All this was of course delicate, gentlemanly, and highly constitutional, particularly when accompanied by several bullying editorials in the Times and Observer, threatening his Lordship with the vengeance of the Obstructives if he did not do their bidding, or dared to bestow an office in the gift of the crown according to his own independent views of the claims of public men, and the exigencies of the public service. These are facts. The Obstructives cannot deny them. Having them before you, my Countrymen, you can duly estimate the delicacy, decency, and disinterestedness, of the opposition on this score. If they are not successful, no man can accuse them of not having taken time by the forelock, and attempting to carry the Executive by storm. Fortunately, Lord Falkland is a cool sort of a person, not easily frightened when he knows he is right, and he takes it all very easy; believing, with most of the Constitutionalists, who have looked calmly on at the meanness of their opponents, that there is no absolute necessity for filling an office, until the occupant has had a decent time to try the strength of his constitution, and ascertain whether or not he is likely to recover.

* “The Conservatives deprecate intrigue and private jobbing, and promises of reversion of public offices, as all leading to mystery and the promotion of knavery.”—Times, July 5. † Vide Observer.

No. 3.

There be men that can pack the cards, and yet cannot play well; so there are some that are good in canvasses and factions, that are otherwise weak men.—Bacon.

The man of pure and simple heart,
Through life disdains the double part;
He never needs the screen of lies,
His inward bosom to disguise.
In vain malicious tongues assail;
Let envy snarl, let slander rail,
From virtue's shield (secure from wound)
Their blunted venom'd shafts rebound,
So shines his light before mankind;
His actions prove his honest mind;
If in his country's cause he rise,
Debating Senates to advise,
Unbribed, unswayed, he does impart,
The honest dictates of his heart.

GAY.

Having enlightened you a little upon the nature of the opposition to the present Government, manifested at Pictou, and shown up the character and designs of the Wilkins family, by a seer of which the scurrilous Press in that place is conducted, let me now invite you to turn back, for a few moments, to the fourteen numbered paragraphs which appear in my second letter. These show that the measures pressed and carried by the Constitutionalists, in this Country, were:

- 1st. The retirement of the Judges from the Legislature, and the elevation of the Bench above the strife of party politics.
- 2d. Opening of the doors of the Legislative Council.
- 3d. The separation of the entire Legislature from the entire Executive Council, and the distribution of the members of the latter through both the Legislative branches, as in England.
- 4th. The check upon a majority of the members of the Executive Council, of re-election by the people, every four years.
- 5th. The greater check of the vote of censure, by the majority of the Representative branch, upon the members of Government.
- 6th. The breaking up of the system by which cliques were formed in all the Colonies, by the hereditary transmission of office.
- 7th. Reducing the number of Representatives which Halifax had in the two Councils, from eleven twelfths to something nearer its fair proportion.
- 8th. Reducing the number of Episcopalians in the Councils, from eleven twelfths, and giving to the four great religious bodies, formerly excluded, a share of influence.
- 9th. Incorporating Halifax, and smashing a miserable municipal system.
- 10th. A sound paper currency.
- 11th. Opening the Outports to the advantages of foreign Trade.
- 12th. Passing the Quadrennial Bill, and obliging Representatives of the people to return to their constituents every four, instead of every seven years.
- 13th. Passing the Bill, by which acceptors of certain offices, are compelled to vacate their seats, and ask, from those they represent, a sanction or disapproval of their conduct.
- 14th. Maintaining the character of the Country, by steady conduct, and munificent grants, in trying and difficult times.

These have been the great leading measures, which, since the Reformers of Nova Scotia obtained a Parliamentary majority, have been carried. There may be other principles and improvements flowing naturally out of these, but their main currents of thought and action may be gathered from the above. By this table, as a party, may the Reformers of the Country, stand or fall. If these changes are improvements—if, by pressing them, a miserable, procrustean and anomalous system of government, neither Monarchical, Republican, nor Aristocratic, and known only to these Colonies, has been swept away, and British Representative Institutions have been established in its stead, then do the men deserve well of their country—of the British people, and, (so far as the example of Nova Scotia, if the new policy succeeds here, as I have no doubt it will, must extend to Colonies in every clime,) of the great family of mankind. Looking through the mists of the present time, I believe, that, long before the grave shall have closed over these men, a grateful country will have recorded their services; and that their exertions to lay the foundations of rational liberty broad and deep, will be as highly appreciated hereafter, as though they were laid in blood. The names of these men, if I am much mistaken, will by and bye be engraven on tablets, and repeated on anniversaries; but, in the meantime, while they are bustling about among us, let us judge them, and

those by whom they have been assailed, without enthusiasm, and by the ordinary rules of evidence.

The Scriptures tell us, "by their works ye shall know them." These are the works of Doyle, Young, Huntingdon, Bell, Howe, Annand, Forrester, Chipman, and their compatriots. By these works they must be known—by these must their conduct be approved or condemned—if they have not done these, they have done nothing, and they have done very little else. For these the political and social assassins of the Times and Observer, have heaped upon them every vile epithet, and sought to break down their characters, and wound their feelings, by the most dastardly tricks of party warfare, and personal insinuation. Verily, they shall have their reward.

Mark, now, my countrymen, these facts—it is for doing and having done these things that the old Reform party were, and that those of them who now support Lord Falkland, or are members of his Government, are abused. You will observe that I separate Huntingdon, and the two or three members of the Reform party, who act with him, entirely from the Rump. Huntingdon's course and objects are distinct and sufficiently indelible—to those I may by and bye devote some space; meanwhile, it is only necessary to say, that if he wishes to draw the coach on more rapidly than others think safe, the Rump wish to drag it back—he approves and glories in every principle and change included in my fourteen paragraphs—the Rump hate and abhor them. It is quite clear, then, that whatever may be Huntingdon's views and objects, he has no sort of connection with the Times and Observer folks, no sympathy with them, and would no more stoop to do the dirty work of Collins, Cogswell & Co. and Jeffrey, Wilkins & Co. than he would try to thrust his manly limbs into Beamish Murdoch's breeches.

You will bear this in mind, then, that while Lord Falkland has gained the support of the leaders, and of all the moderate men of the old government party, the Rump have not gained one single man from the ranks of the Constitutionalists—the great majority supporting his Lordship, and the balance holding an independent position, but ready, at any moment, to prevent any retrograde movement of the government in the direction indicated by Cogswell & Co. Ask Huntingdon if he is agitating because he wants to thrust Cogswell, Collins & Jeffrey, back into the Council without Her Majesty's consent, and what would be his answer? "No—I agitate because I want the Civil List settled, and because I think, not that they should be restored, but that one or two, whom I distrust, should be put out also." This brings me to one of the main charges which the Times and Observer folks are constantly urging against the present government.

Over and over again, the question is asked, how can Johnston and Uniacke act with Howe and McNab—how can Young sit at the same Council Board with Stewart and Robie, without a monstrous dereliction of principle? May I not ask how it is that Sir R. Peel and Lord Stanley, who, on many of the great leading measures of Earl Grey's Government, were stoutly and often bitterly opposed, should now be members of the same Cabinet? Simply because, the circumstances of the times forcing new political combinations, it so happened, that these two statesmen, and their mutual friends, approached nearer each other in the views they took of public affairs, than any other of the parties out of which either a Government or an opposition could be formed. I could give dozens of similar illustrations from the history of English parties; and, as to those of France, there are scarcely two men of any eminence, in either of the French Chambers, that have not, at some time of their lives, served in the same Cabinet with men whom they have at other times denounced as blunderers in policy, and blind guides to the nation. I will not deny, that, at times, there may be treachery or corruption in all this—but, in the great majority of cases, combinations of events which neither of the parties could have foreseen, or controlled, shiver old connections, and compel men to form new ones. The settlement of important questions often paves the way for harmonious action, between public men. The Reform Bill, and a few other great measures, being disposed of, Lord Stanley, who had supported, and Sir R. Peel, who had opposed them, began to agree more nearly upon the policy of the future, although differing so strongly as to the past, than they did, perhaps, with some of their own friends whose views were more decided and extreme. I am not now approving or censuring any thing which has been done in England, I am merely giving the Rump, an illustration, the full force of which they cannot dispute. Johnston and Howe, Young and Uniacke.

have done nothing more in Nova Scotia, than those great Conservative statesmen have done in England, they have combined upon common views of future policy, after nearly all the great questions upon which they differed have been disposed of.

The Rump ask how can these men agree? I ask how can they differ? *What is there left for them to quarrel about?* The utter absurdity of this charge, perpetually in the mouths of Collins, Cogswell & Co. will be best shewn by reference to my table of settled questions.

Can Johnston and Howe fight about the retirement of the Judges or the opening of the Council doors? Certainly not—these subjects are disposed of—the one cannot undo what has been done, nor the other find a grievance where none in reality exists.

Can Young and Uniacke quarrel about the opening of the Outports, or the passage of the Quadrennial Bill? It is impossible—these questions are settled, as decisively as are the Reform Bill or Catholic Emancipation. Uniacke cannot close the Ports or repeal the Quadrennial Bill, even if he would; and Young would be laughed at, if he sought to deny Uniacke's capacity to serve the Government or Country, in all time to come, merely because he had happened to differ with him upon these, and other almost obsolete questions.

The same may be said of every one of the topics included in the list from 1 to 14. They can no more be fought over again, than the battle of Worcester, or the battle of Culloden—and it would be about as reasonable to expect these men to hate each other all their lives, merely because they had differed on particular questions in the early part of them, as it would to charge the people of England and Scotland with cowardice and corruption, for combining under one government, and living together as one family, after fierce party struggles and bloody civil wars.

Besides, upon some of these questions, there never was, between the members of Lord Falkland's Government, any great difference of opinion. Johnston and Uniacke fought as stoutly as Howe did against the rotten paper system, the common enemy being Cogswell, Collins & Co. and their financial Jack Pudding, the Vice President of the St. George's Society. As respects all that class of questions which affect the civil and religious rights of the four great religious bodies, which make up four fifths of our population, Howe and Johnston, Stewart, Young and McNab, entertain precisely the same opinions, while the great leading principles of Jeffrey, Collins, Cogswell, the Bishop, and old Stephen Dehlon, are distinction, supremacy, and exclusion.

Besides,

The stern joy that warriors feel
In foemen, worthy of their steel,

would of itself, naturally, after all their manly encounters, draw such men as surround Lord Falkland together, if there were, (old causes of strife being removed,) common objects and common duties, to form a centre of action, and to afford honourable employment for their powers. It is impossible that such men as Uniacke and Howe, Johnston and Young, can have crossed swords so often, without admiring each other's nerve and science, while it is equally impossible that the Conservative members of Lord Falkland's Council can ever have gone into action with Collins, Jeffrey and Company, incumbering their line of march, without heartily wishing such impracticable and ineffectual leaders at the bottom of the sea. To these men it must be a warrant of the success of Lord Falkland, not to be doubted, when they see their old "lumber troop" opposed to him; they know that the folly of these men would render numbers, and discipline, and a good cause, of no avail, and when they see them at the head of the Johnny Bazalgette's and Billy Gossip's, in a crusade against Lord Falkland, Sir Charles Bagot, and both the great parties of England, by whom the new Colonial policy has been established, they must laugh in their sleeves. Why, Hezekiah might as well bring an action against the Apollo Belvidere, for frightening women in the family way, or Jeffrey attempt to bully the Lords Commissioners of the Customs.

I have now shown you, my Countrymen, how it is, that the men who surround Lord Falkland can act together without any sacrifice of principle:

1st. Because most of the great questions which divide them have been settled, thereby sweeping away motives to further contention; and

2nd. Because, in views of the future, there is a general accord—ance, and, growing out of the past, more of personal respect, than ever can exist between either section of the present Council, and

the ultras, led by Cogswell & Co. and whom I have designated as the Rump.

This faction, if they want anything, want to return to the old state of things—to re-establish the old Council of 12, and the old Colonial policy—to shut the doors—turn out the Dissenters, close the Free Ports, to re-instate Jeffrey, Collins & Co., repeal the Quadrennial Bill and the Corporation Act, give the Crown Councilors that it cannot dismiss, and deprive it of all the patronage by establishing the hereditary succession to office. These are the favourite objects of the Rump—the facts may be gathered from most of their published effusions: Robie, Johnston, Dodd, Uniacke, &c. know that this is impossible—they believe that the men who can, in the present day, seriously make such propositions, must be monstrous knaves or monstrous fools,—they know, that if these men had the government in their hands to-morrow, they would be beaten out of it in three months; and they know also, that the system which the Rump denounce, is safe, practicable, and infinitely preferable to the old one, and that the tales hourly told of the gentlemen with whom they are associated, are base and disingenuous slanders. Having been swamped once by their folly, these men know that no boat can swim with the lubberly crew of the Rump in it, and they prefer a longer voyage, with men who can hoist a sail or feather an oar, rather than having to break their hearts, in pulling through dangerous seas, those who lie like dead weight in the stern.

Out of this junction, then, of the best men of the old Government, with the members of the old Reform party, with but one of two exceptions, has grown that new and more extensive combination, now known as the CONSTITUTIONALISTS, embracing greater numbers, and more of talent, than either of the old parties out of whose materials it has been formed. Upon this party, my Countrymen, the men who surround Lord Falkland rest, and, so long as they preserve its confidence, may rest securely, defying the assaults of the Rump. This great party embraces four-fifths of your representatives, and my belief is, at least five-sixths of those they represent. The capital of the Province, by two elections, has solemnly recorded her adherence to it—Hants, King's, Annapolis, Digby, Shelburne, Queen's, and even Lunenburg, are with the Government—Colchester, Cumberland, Sydney, Richmond, Inverness, Cape Breton, have declared in favour of the new principles, and their contempt for that precious conglomeration of heterogeneous political materials, which forms the tail of Collins, Cogswell & Co. Whence comes the opposition? From the minority in Halifax, whose character and objects I have described—from Yarmouth, for reasons which are understood, and which give no strength to the objections of the Rump—from Guysborough, where I have reason to know the real sentiments of the people have been misrepresented; and from Pictou, where a precious session of the House of Wilkins flourishes his grey goose quill, in the hope that he may be able to establish a government, which will not commit the unpardonable sin of expecting even one Wilkins to be quiet, until he has got his hand into the Province chest.

No. 6.

If you suspect my husbandry, or falsehood,
Call me before the strictest auditors,
And set us on the proof. So the Gods bless me,
When all our offices have been oppress'd
With riotous feeders; when our vaults have wept
With drunken splish of wine; when ev'ry room
Hath blazed with lights and brav'd with minstrelsy,
I have retired me to a wasteful cook,
And set mine eyes at bow.

TIMON OF ATHENS.

Truth!—raise some genuine Bard, and guide his hand
To drive this pestilence from out the land.

BYRON.

Before we proceed further, let us, for a moment, turn to the steps by which we have advanced thus far, because I am most anxious that you should never, for one moment, doubt the coherence and force of this argument, and that all those who choose to follow me may find the tracks measured, distinct and indelible.

I have shewn you that the conduct of the Opposition, in the Press, in the Charitable Societies, and the City Council, has drawn upon them this exposure.

That fourteen great questions, pressed by the Reformers, and opposed by the Obstructives, indicate the main distinctions between the two parties—that the views of my party, in every instance, have

been sound and British, and have been approved by Her Majesty's Government.

That the present Halifax opposition is very different from the old Government party—that the best materials of that party stand by Lord Falkland, and that its Rump, only, adheres to Collins, Cogswell & Co.

That, to say nothing of the Reformers at all, the contrast between the Conservatives who support, and those who oppose, the present Government, is so ridiculous, that no man can make it without laughing.

That the state of society in Pictou has been produced, and sustained by, the contemptible intrigues of persons who have sacrificed the best interests of the County to suit their own objects, and who now seek to continue the system, utterly regardless of the peace and advancement of those they wish to mislead.

That all the declamation in the Observer has its origin in gross selfishness and disappointed ambition.

That the coalition, formed by the two parties who have united in Lord Falkland's Council, is sanctioned by the example of Peel and Stanley, and by British and Foreign Statesmen of every party, and every order of mind.

That, in fact, the fourteen questions being settled, it was almost impossible that these men should not unite, if circumstances favored a coalition; because, some of them having too much honor, and too much sense, to attempt to disturb what had been done, and others, properly appreciating their talents, and proposing, for the future, nothing but what they could approve, there was everything to induce, and nothing to prevent a union.

That neither of these parties could have acted with Cogswell, Collins & Co. and Jeffrey, Wilkins & Co. nor been successful, in restoring and keeping up the old system, if they had.

That Huntingdon has nothing to do with the Rump, being only divided from the Administration by one or two questions, while he would not touch the Times and Observer gang, even with a boat hook.

Having, I trust, my countrymen, made all this sufficiently apparent, let me now address myself to another ground of attack, which the Opposition have taken. They think it a strong one, we shall see how much of it I will leave under their feet. For many years, in the Times, and for many months in the Observer, the Obstruc-tives have accused the Constitutionalists of selfishness, corruption and an inordinate desire to fill their own pockets at the expense of the people. Over and over again has this vile slander been circulated, through the prints fostered by the Jeffreys, Wallaces, Morrises, Halliburtons, Binnays, Wilkins's, and the whole tribe of people, who have grown so fat upon the public purse, that they think they can not only intrigue against the Representative of their Sovereign, who spares, and the Government which pays them, but even put down honesty and common sense, by dint of unblushing and slanderous assertion.

They shall not put it down, but mark how I will put them down. Nay, gentlemen, no wriggling and wincing—as Dick Hatteraik and Sir Francis Head say, "you will have it," and you shall to your heart's content. I would gladly have remained quiet in my study, but when I have seen the public money, which the generosity of my country has poured into your pockets, employed to maintain an organized system of slander—when I know that one of the Presses from which these falsehoods emanate was purchased, and, I am assured, is at this moment owned, by one of you, while I know that others sustain these engines of defamation by double and treble subscriptions. I will give you the benefit of the contrasts you provoke, and which will enable the public to judge correctly between you and the men you defame.

Corruption, venality, wasting the public Revenues!—these, my Countrymen, are the charges which those men bring against us—turn over their amiable effusions, and you will find them written on every page; turn to the facts, with me, and these will put them to shame:

The old Reform party consisted of:

Alexander Archibald,	Peter Spearwater,
Hugh McDonald,	Benjamin Smith,
Lawrence O'C. Doyle,	Henry Goudge,
Alexander M. Upham,	William Holland,
Peres M. Benjamin,	Gaius Lewis,
Hugh Bell,	J. B. Holdsworth,
G. W. McLellan,	Simon D'Entremont,
John Morton,	Thomas Forrester,
John Young,	Richard Forrestall,

George Smith,
Zenas Waterman,
Herbert Huntingdon,
William Young,
William Annand,
Joseph Howe,
Reuben Clements,

F. Robicheau,
Andrew McKim,
Thomas Dickson,
W. F. Desbarres,
Alexander McDougall,
Samuel Chipman,
Richard McJeffery.

There may have been some others, but this is as correct a list as I can make, from memory; if I have omitted any that ought to be included, or put down any gentleman's name, that did not belong to the party, I beg his pardon. But assuming this list to be correct, let me ask you, my countrymen, to run your eyes over it, and inquire which of these men can be accused of venality and corruption, of serving himself at the expense of the public, of taking money out of the Treasury without giving to the country an equivalent? If the charge can be brought against the Reformers—"the Responsibles"—as they are often called, *here they are*—these are the men that the Rump are continually accusing of selfishness and rascality of every kind. Shall I, who knew them well—who know most of them now, sit quietly by, and hear their good names sported with, week after week, by a parcel of people, fed upon the public treasure; and who, like crows fastening on a carcass, croak their hoarse throats and flap their mournful wings, at every bird that soars above them, for fear that he may descend, and claim a portion, of what is the common property of the fowls of the air, but which they hope, by clamour, to monopolize.

I have said, my countrymen, that I knew these men well. Some of them were wealthy, but they had accumulated property by honest industry, without ever drawing one shilling from the Province chest—others of them were poor, and I have seen their honest pride and manly independence struggling with, and overcoming, the difficulties of life—some of them, unpaid by the public, unpurchasable, have gone down into the grave and can no longer defend their characters; but their memories are dear to you, my countrymen, and dear to me, and as long as I have a pen to wield, I shall consider it a duty to flay the wretches by whom they are traduced.

Of these thirty two gentlemen, who composed the old Reform party, twenty-six never have received one farthing of the public money, and never held any place of profit or emolument under the Crown. Mr. McDonald, Mr. George Smith, and Mr. Desbarres, hold, or held, I believe, the local offices of Judge of Probate, worth, to them all, not much over £150 per annum—Mr. Huntingdon is Prothonotary at Yarmouth, which may yield some £10 or £12—and Mr. Dickson is Collector of Excise at Pictou, worth, perhaps, £100. Not one of the others have received, during the many years that they acted together as a party, one single farthing, nor do they now receive one, for I put out of question the allowance to the Speaker, which is barely sufficient to defray the expenses of the office. And yet, strange to say, these are the men against whom the Jeffreys, Wilkins's, Wallaces, Binnays, Cogswells, and all their scribes and whippers-in, dare to bring the charge of venality and corruption—of serving themselves at the expense of the Province.

These are the men to whom the people of Nova Scotia mainly owe the fourteen important changes and improvements recorded in my second letter, and yet six-and-twenty have never received one shilling's worth of advantage from their services, and the whole thirty-two together do not now receive as much as one of Mr. Jeffrey's Clerks would think a moderate reward for his services, in making entries from ten till three, hearing him talk nonsense about politics, and assisting him to insult his brother-in-law, and his Sovereign's Representative, occasionally, at a public dinner. So much for the old Reform party, or "the Responsibles," as they are sometimes styled.

Turn we now to the Parliamentary supporters of the present Government, the Constitutionalists, as they are entitled to be called, and let us see if the Rump, and its shameless organs, the Times and Observer, can make out a much better case against them. I take the list as I find it in the papers:

Messrs. J. R. Dewolf,	Messrs. Smith,
McKay,	Palmer,
Holdsworth,	Young,
Fulton,	Fairbanks,
Comeau,	Desbarres,
Ryder,	Forrestall,
Homer,	Annand,
McKenna,	Martell,

Stairs,
Crow,
Spearwater,
Zwickor,
Archibald,
Dimock,
Gates,
Delaney,
Dickey,
Johnston,
Heckman,
McLellan,

T. A. S. Dewolf,
Creighton,
Uniacke,
Howe,
Dickson,
Beekwith,
S. B. Chipman,
M'Nab,
Payzant,
Levis,
S. Chipman,
Turnbull.

Here we have Conservatives and Reformers, those who, independently differing with the members of Lord Falkland's Administration at times, still, have recorded their approval of their principles and conduct, and upon whose support his Lordship no doubt relies, to enable him to carry out the new Colonial Policy, in defiance of the Rump. These are the men who have been purchased? who have sold their Constituents!!! who have deserted the people!!! who have ruined the country!!!! whose selfishness, cupidity, and corruption, have brought blushes into the faces of the Cogswells, Jeffreys, and Wilkins!!!! Now, how many of these forty men, whose public services and private virtues you know, my countrymen, now hold, or have ever held, any office of profit or emolument under the Crown? But six. There are three Judges of Probate, two Collectors of Excise, and one Solicitor General, among them, the entire emoluments of the five offices not exceeding £500. This is rather a small sum, to purchase forty men, freely chosen by the People of Nova Scotia, from the élite of its several Towns and Counties. £500! this sum would scarcely keep one Wilkins quiet—what a dreadfully corrupt government it is, which scatters the public money with such profusion! Lord Falkland beats Sir Robert Walpole all hollow—when he pays such enormous sums for support to his Administration!

But, to be serious, let me ask you to pause here, my countrymen, and contemplate the spectacle which the Rump exhibit, thus detected and exposed. Are there a pack of more shamelessly mendacious slanderers in the whole universe? Is there a man of veracity—of candour—of integrity—that would, after this triumphant refutation of an argument ever upon their lips, allow himself for an hour to be considered a joint of Cogswell & Company's tail? I have shewn you that twenty-seven members of the old majority served their country, and that thirty-four of the supporters of the present government are content to serve it, without drawing from its *Revenues one shilling*—that but five Reformers in the old house, and six Constitutionalists in the present, held or hold any description of office to which emolument is attached, and that £500 per annum is the very outside figure that the majority of the last House, which supported the fourteen great measures, or the majority of the present, who sustain Lord Falkland's government, ever had to divide among them.

Now, my countrymen, let me ask you to look over these lists, and see if there are not men on them, that you, in your deliberate judgment, believe are entitled to something more than slander and misrepresentation for their labours? Old Mr. Young toiled in the public service, both as a member of Parliament, and as an able public writer, and yet Mr. Edward Duckett, the *Treasurer's Clerk*, has received more in four years than ever Mr. Young received as Secretary to the Central Board—more, in one year, than *agricola* received for fifteen or sixteen years of laborious Parliamentary and other public service: and yet Mr. D. sips his wine under the banner of St. George—hears the Representative of his Sovereign, and his Lady, insulted, and sneers at the "Responsibles," who perform the intellectual and onerous work of the country, but leave him his share of the pay.

Herbert Huntingdon has been some ten or twelve years in the Legislature, spending hundreds in contested elections, giving his time, his information, his talents, to the country—nay, to my certain knowledge, often breaking his health and shortening his life in its service; and yet sleek Tommy James, another of the worthies, who sipped his wine, and sneered on the sly at the Responsibles, has received, in a single year, more of the public treasure, than the country he has toiled for ever bestowed on Herbert Huntingdon.

Take Doyle and McDougall, two men of the old majority—who, as Lawyers, Wits, Poets, Patriots, may well challenge comparison with the wretches who traduce them. These men faithfully, honorably, successfully, served their country from 1837 to 1841. Neither of them are affluent—both of them have retired from the

Legislature—what have they ever cost the country? Why, Mr. Cogswell has put more money into his pocket, as clerk to the Rotation Court—Deputy Secretary of the Province—or Registrar of the Court of Chancery, in one year, than ever Doyle or McDougall received in the whole course of their public lives.

But these are men of the old House, how fares it with those of the new? What have Lewis, Howe, B. Smith, Sam Chipman, Heckman, Fairbanks, Creighton, Spearwater, Archibald, Holdsworth, men who have been honestly and conscientiously serving the public, in two Parliaments, received from the Country in return? Not one farthing. They have asked nothing, many of them expect nothing; if the country has any thing to give them, they will probably take it if it is offered; if not, they will live, as they have done hitherto, by their own industry: these men are as much above corruption, as the Rump is beneath contempt; and yet they support Lord Falkland's Government, not because they have sacrificed their independence, but because they approve of it; and because they believe that the fragment of a party who abuse and malign that nobleman, because he governs the country by its Legislature, and not by a faction, are a pack of incorrigible ultras. Here are *few* men, who have probably spent thousands in Elections, and who have given many of the best years of their lives to public business—often assuming responsibilities of the most weighty character, and yet we are to be told, that the Ned Duckett's and Ned Binney's, who *never* did an hour's work for the public which they were not well paid for—who have never been elevated to the Legislature by a Town or a County—who have written nothing, spoken nothing, carried no measure, run no risk, either to give them a claim upon the Government or the People, are to be promoted to the highest offices as they become vacant; and that those who have earned Honourable notice from the Government, and respect from the people, by their talents, are to be passed over, and left to enjoy the barren honours of public life; while those who slander them when they oppose a government, and sneer at and intrigue against them when they support one, are to be handsomely provided for at the public expense. No—thank Providence, that day has gone past—neither the Honours, those distinctions which a wise government should hold out to excite the emulation of the whole people, nor the offices, which ought to be the reward of high talent, patriotism and experience, can any longer be confined to a clique. The principles of the Constitutionalists are in the ascendant, and the Rump are in despair.

I trust, my fellow-countrymen, that I have now redeemed my pledge, and that I have left the Gossips and Murdochs and Wilkins', not an inch of ground to stand on. Their proofs against the "Responsibles" of the last House and the Constitutionalists of the present, are gone—they have vanished, like the baseless fabric of a vision. The charge, however, remains, and is good evidence of the unscrupulous malignity of those who made it, and who will continue to make it, week after week, in the *Times* and *Observer*, this triumphant refutation to the contrary notwithstanding.

In Siam the punishment for lying is sewing up the mouth—it is lucky that these worthies do not live there. In my next I shall probably overhaul a few of the Rump, and see how much of public plunder I can find upon them. I will search the sack, not only of Benjamin but of Hzekiah. If I do not find some curious things under the gaberdines of the gentlemen who have come into Court to give evidence against us, and claim all the patriotism and disinterestedness in the world then shall I be much mistaken. Addison says "it is ridiculous for any man to criticise the works of another, who has not distinguished himself by his own performances," and I no man will be disposed to deny that the Rump have qualified themselves to discuss the distribution of loaves and fishes, by greedily fobbing every fragment which they could ever lay their hands on.

No. 7.

"There is, in this City, a certain fraternity of chemical operators, who work under ground, in holes, corners, and dark retirements, to conceal their mysteries from the eyes and observation of mankind."—ADDISON.

I trust that, in my last letter, I entirely overthrew the charge of selfishness and corruption, brought by the Rump, against the Reformers of the last House and the Constitutionalists of the present, by showing,

1st. That 26 of the 32 gentlemen, who composed the old majority, and 36 of the 41* who support the present Government,

* Mr. Dodd's name was omitted in the list of last week, he having been ill when the division took place.

never held any public office, and do not now hold any place of profit or emolument under the Crown.

2d. That all the offices held by the remaining 5 or 6 members of either House, did not, and do not, yield over £500 currency per annum.

The facts disclosed appear to have most agreeably surprised many worthy people, who, from hearing the most unblushing falsehoods confidently asserted, week after week, and day after day, began almost to waiver in their faith, and to fancy that all the virtue and disinterestedness must be upon the opposite side. The Clique feel that the defence has been triumphant, and decisive—that the body of public spirited and independent gentlemen, whom they have attempted to malign, stand again before their Country, and in the midst of their friends, and neighbours, and constituents, who respect and esteem them, with clean hands and brows erect, smiling at Cogswell, Wilkins & Co. with ineffable scorn and defiance. The opposition fancy that, even the spirits of the dead, whose memories they have insulted, hover over their beds at night to reproach them for their slanders.

There never was a more homely and familiar illustration of the adage, that truth is powerful and will prevail, than the effects wrought by that single letter. There is nothing in the style of it to command attention, but the truth, a simple statement of facts, has put the opposition down. They have toiled for years to rear a pyramid of falsehoods, and lo! it is shaken to its centre, and is tumbling about their ears. I will now endeavour to raise a monument to their disinterestedness, patriotism and public virtue, which cannot be so easily overturned. The Wilkins's may blow upon it 'till they crack their cheeks, Jeffrey may summon his Allison and Deblois's to undermine it—Hare may try to cast it into deep shadow, by getting between it and the sun—the Bishop may spread his apron upon it,—the Wallace's may try to hide it in the chest, but it shall stand before the country, immovable, indestructible, not "lifting its head and lying," as was said of a monument elsewhere, but lifting its head and telling the truth—upon the Rump.

£500 currency, my Countrymen, is the outside figure of all the sums which the majority of the last House drew, and the majority of the present House draw, from the Revenues of the country. This is the evidence produced, to prove corruption, and selfishness, against the supporters of the present Government. Now, I have taken the trouble to run my eye over the list of the members of the St. George's Society, and of the guests, who, on the 23d of April, sat round their Board, sipped their wine, and smiled when the Governor and his Lady were treated with disrespect—or hissed Mr. Uniacke, and showed their abhorrence of the Responsible Hydra:—I pass over the military officers, of which there were about twenty, and who, being strangers to the tricks and manoeuvres of the Rump, and supposing they were among gentlemen, never suspected what was going on around them, nor that any attempt would be made to draw them into party politics—I pass over some twenty others, who were either liberals, or moderate supporters of the present Government, and who should not have remained one moment after Mr. Uniacke was put down, and who would not, had that gentleman left the room, as he probably would have done had any body else been in the Chair—I pass over some half dozen flunkys, brought to back their masters, and I come at once to the 50 or 60 persons who remain, out of the number who attended the dinner, or are known to entertain the same political opinions; or, whatever may be their real sentiments, to act, for various reasons, with the Rump. Among that 50 or 60 persons is to be found the nucleus of all the opposition to Lord Falkland and his administration, which has been bitter, spiteful, personal. Almost every joint of Cogswell, Collins & Co., and Jeffrey, Wilkins & Co.'s tail, from the thickest and dirtiest, to the smallest and most elastic, may be discovered among the lot. These are the gentlemen, who, through the scurrilous organs they maintain with the public money, charge your Representatives, week after week, with selfishness and corruption, and prove it by showing that forty members, distinguished for experience, eloquence, ability, and faithful public service, divide among them the mighty sum of £500 currency. Now, my countrymen, will you do me the favour to stand by, and see how much of public plunder these worthies have got concealed about their persons—stuffed into their pockets, hidden in the crowns of their hats, and sewed up in the waistbands of their breeches. Nay, gentlemen, don't

struggle and kick, you cannot escape if you would—"no maiden's arm is around you thrown." Besides, what have you to fear? You have come into Court to give evidence against the Responsible Hydra—no doubt, your hands are clean: You are too pure, too high-minded, too virtuous, to touch a farthing of the public money—your love for Nova Scotia is so great, that to serve it for nothing is a pleasure—you have so deep an interest in the prosperity of the City of Halifax, that to touch a farthing of its revenues would give you infinite pain. Sublime patriots—disinterested men! how fortunate it is that Nova Scotia possesses such a band of self-sacrificing and incorruptible worshippers of the ancient system, under which their budding virtues were nourished by Danzen showers, that the rude breath of the Responsible Hydra may possibly waft to freshen distant pastures, and flow into other channels.

I have given you the lists of the majority of the last House, and of the present, who are eternally abused in the Times and Observer, and I have shown that the whole amount they receive from public employment is £500. Turn we now to the men who *grudge them this sum*, and are fearful of its *corrupting their integrity and endangering their independence*. Look on this picture, and on that. All the persons whose names are here set down, are either members of the Political Club called St. George's Society, dined at its table, on the 23d of April, or are known to be secretly or openly intriguing against Lord Falkland.

Thomas Nicholson Jeffrey, Collector of Customs,	£2,300
Richard Best, Clerk do	312
John Blackmore,* Landing Waiter and Searcher,	437
Robert Cleghorn, do do	187
James Boggs, do do	187
James S. Richardson, Clerk,	100
John Garby, do	125
J. J. Morris, do	100
Abs. Hay, Locker,	96
James Wall, do	96
John Spry Morris, Commissioner of Crown Lands,	
Surveyor General and Judge of Probate,	850
Thomas James, Clerk and Deputy Registrar,	500
S. Binney and E. Binney, representing a family drawing,	700
A Richardson,† Guenger,	500
Charles Wallace, Treasurer,	700
Edward Duckett, Clerk, Keeper of Savings' Bank, Clerk to Board of Revenue, and Commissioners of Sable Island,	400
Edward Wallace, Adjutant General, Commissioner of Sable Island, Agent for Revenue Cutters,	300
Judge Sawers, Pensioner and Recorder,	500
James S. Clarke, City Clerk, &c. &c.	400
Lawrence Hartsborne, County Treasurer, and Clerk of Licence, Commissioner of Revenue, &c.	400
James Tremain, Overseer of Roads, &c. Pickings unknown.	
Doctor Almon, Surgeon to the Poor House,	150
J. J. Sawyer, City Marshall, Sheriff, &c., Usher of the Black Rod,	500
Col. Creighton, half pay,	300
Henry Ince, Ordnance Clerk,	200
James Gossip, Lumber Yard,	100
Beamish Murdoch, Clerk Educational Board,	150
John C. Halliburton, Clerk of Council, Secretary of College, &c.	300
Do. representing a Family drawing besides,	1 50
Stephen Deblois, Marshall of Admiralty,	pickings
A. M. Uniacke, Judge Advocate of Militia, pickings in peace, great profits in war.	
John Bazalgette, Representative of a Family which receives about	800
The Wilkinsons,	1000
John Wallace,	1000

Carried forward,... 15,140

* I insert the name of this gentleman, and of some others in this list, because I find them on that of the Society, but I must do them the justice to say, that I have never heard of their mixing themselves up offensively with politics.

† This gentleman, it is said, had the good taste to retire, the moment his suit was offered to the Government.

* Vide Obstructive account of the Dinner.

Brought forward,....£15,140

*Lewis Bliss, Representative of a Family which receives about

900

£16,040

What do you think of this list, my Countrymen? One thought is probably uppermost in all your minds, that some of the gentlemen whose names figure in it, had much better have "let sleeping dogs lie." They would not, however, they would return with treachery the kindness and forbearance of the Governor who could crush—of the administration which spared them—of the Constitutionalists, who asked nothing of them, but the honorable discharge of their official duties in return for the salaries they received. They would set up papers to compare their disinterestedness, with the selfishness and corruption of the old Reformers, and of the supporters of Lord Falkland—they would attract attention to the orgies at which they glorified each other, and sneered at the Responsibilities—they would, by their "Halifax Correspondents," and other precious productions, invite even the most searching scrutiny into the doings of their "conkerbines,"† as well as the amount of their spoils, and now—what has become of it? One letter is sufficient to shake to its foundation, and scatter to the winds, the mountain of falsehood they had reared with so much care—and one other to show the extent of the confidence to which they are entitled, from the people, whose revenues they almost monopolize, and whose judgments they seek to mislead.

Let us state the matter in the form of a debtor and creditor account, for the amusement and instruction of the public.

The People of Nova Scotia in account with the Reformers and Constitutionalists of the Assembly, from 1836 to 1842.

Dr.	Ca.
To six years public service, and carrying and perfecting 14 important measures, such as were never secured in any Country, in so short a time, by peaceful and Constitutional means.	By this amount, divided among the freely chosen Representatives of seventeen Towns and Counties, being at the rate of £500 per annum.
	£3000
	Errors excepted.

CHARLES WALLACE,
Treasurer and Auditor of Public Accounts.

August 1, 1842.

The People of Nova Scotia in account with the St. George's Society, otherwise called the Rump.

Dr.	Ca.
To discharging mere official duties, opposing every good measure for four years, and bringing the Queen's Representative into collision with the People—during the other two insulting the Governor who spares, and intriguing against the government which pays them.	By this amount, divided among them in six years, being at the rate of £16,040 per annum.
	£96,240
	Errors excepted.

CHARLES WALLACE,
Treasurer and Auditor of Public Accounts.

There is nothing like putting things in black and white—figures of speech, in which the opposition deal very often, are apt to mislead—arithmetical figures are more to be relied on, and when addressed to a thinking practical people, like the Novascotians, carry a weight and authority which cannot be gainsayed. These accounts will be read and examined all over the Province, and the scribes of the Times and Observer will have to write a great deal before they get out of the heads of the people, the simple conclusions to which they inevitably lead:

- 1st. That the amount which the Rump have drawn out of their pockets, in six years for obstructing the passage of every good measure, is..... £96,240
- 2nd. That the amount divided among the Responsibilities, for improving their Institutions, and supporting good measures, is..... 3,000

Difference in favour of the Rump, £93,240

3rd. That if there is any difference in the wordly circumstan-

*The list might have been very much extended, and made to include Government Contractors, and various other officers of different grades, until the amount was largely increased. I might also have shown that at least a dozen persons present, were sons, or relatives, or under the influence of the above. It was only necessary, however, to give names enough to mark the strength of the contrast.

† Vide Times.

ces of the two parties, the *Ninety-Six Thousand Pounds* given to the one, and to which the other contributed its share, has materially assisted to create the distinction.

4. That 50 men, who, with their families and friends, *unusually* consume more money than, on an average, can be spared for the *entire Cross Road and Bridge service* of the Country, should be the last to boast of their disinterestedness, and cry selfishness and corruption at the members of the Government and of the Legislature, who receive nothing for their labours, and the responsibility they assume.

5. That it would be monstrous injustice and folly, any longer to leave in the hands of a clique, who have neither the talent to sustain a Government, nor to win the confidence of the people, this monopoly of the resources of the Country, to be used against one or the other, and occasionally played off against both.

Now, my Countrymen, aye, and Countrywomen, for all have an interest in this discussion, let me, in view of the facts disclosed in these two letters, give you a few specimens of the mode in which the opposition papers argue from premises which would appear to warrant any other than their conclusion. I cut the following modest scrap from the *Pictou Observer*:

"We hold that there are two parties in Nova Scotia,—the one *intelligent, loyal, and generous*,—the other ignorant, restless, and unprincipled,—the one a party of gentlemen; the other a party of knaves and fools."

To understand this, one would require a new dictionary, constructed after this fashion:

Intelligent—shrewd enough to get a good office.

Loyal—true to the Crown, when those who are paid to serve, are allowed to rule Her Majesty's Representative.

Generous—pocketing £96,240 in six years, and crying thief at those who got but £3,000.

Gentleman—One who assails private characters in the Newspapers, and refused to drink a Lady's health because he differs in politics with her husband.

Take another specimen or two:

"When Mr. Uniacke was silenced on the occasion alluded to, it was not, we take it for granted, out of any disrespect for Lord Falkland, as the *Representative of the Queen*, but in contempt and derision of a system of government based on the *sandy foundation of favouritism, partiality and corruption*."

"What brought the majority round to express their confidence on that memorable occasion? We answer the *venality of the confidants*, and the *corruption of the Executive Council*. And does a Paper bearing the honoured name of this Province, venture to give its countenance and support to such a system as this?"

"Did Mr. Howe demonstrate the unsoundness of our arguments against the *vile system of purchasing the leading members of the House into the service of the Government*?"

"What matters it that there is no immediate ground of complaint against the acts of the Executive Council? will that justify the Government in attempting to use the *patrimony of the Crown* to influence the independence of the *House of Assembly*?"

"Thus the relationship of the Colony to the Mother Country exhibit this singular phenomenon, that a most respectable, and decidedly the most intellectual and wealthy portion of Her Majesty's Nova Scotian subjects, are held in ignominious bondage by a Whig Governor."

"The fact is, that the House of Assembly just loses weight to the exact amount of the influence of the Government servants over its deliberation; for it is in vain to expect that men either paid, or promise a reward, by the Government, will not sometimes forget their duty to their constituents, from whom they receive no emolument, and with whom they have generally no sympathy, when the dazzling prospects of office and salary are exposed to their eager and admiring gaze."

"How have we been treated by the Whigs?—A Printer, feeling some unaccountable aspirations after greatness, invents a list of imaginary grievances, and, after pursuing the ordinary steps towards the acquisition of a vulgar popularity, obtains a majority in a most contemptibly ignorant and beggarly House of Assembly of fifty members."

These are all from the *Observer Press*, originally purchased by Mr. Jeffrey—never paid for—and, if report speaks true, still owned by him and under the management of the Wilkins family. I make no comment on these passages—they will speak for themselves, when compared with the facts which I have already recorded. I give them to you, as evidence of the folly and madness of the Rump, and as warranting every line of this straight forward and ample exposure.

No. 8.

"There is a history in all men's lives,
Figuring the nature of the times deceased;
The which observed, a man may prophecy,
With a near aim, of the main chance of things
As yet not come to life."

SHAKESPEARE.

"Better is a little with righteousness, than great revenues without right."

PROVERBS.

It was Sterne's opinion that our sympathies are not so powerfully

exalted, by the contemplation of the great sum of human misery, as by selecting and dwelling upon particular instances of wretchedness and misfortune. It is quite possible that the rule may hold good, in estimating the extent of human happiness and prosperity—of the combined results of good luck and good management. Having set before you, therefore, in gross, the great sum of the disinterested patriotism of the Obstructives, let me now select a few conspicuous instances, by which the purity of motive—the personal sacrifices—the disdain of filthy lucre, ever evinced by that party, is brought out in strong contrast with the selfishness, cupidity, and corruption, of the “Responsibles.”

I will take two men whose names and positions are pretty well known to every body, so that a few slight touches will at once fix public attention upon the strong points which I wish to illustrate. These are

THOMAS N. JEFFREY AND JOSEPH HOWE.

The reason why I begin with these, is, because both of them have been connected with the Press. Mr. Howe purchased, with the produce of his own industry, printing materials to carry on the business to which he was bred, he placed his own name at the head of the paper he published—and, however he may have attacked the system with which Mr. Jeffrey was connected, always committed the unpardonable weakness of doing justice to that gentleman's public and private character. Mr. Jeffrey purchases printing materials with the overplus of an enormous official salary, withholds his name, but encourages others to scandalize and defame all those with whom he may happen to differ in politics. In an especial manner does he repay the simple candour and magnanimity of Mr. Howe, by causing that person to be stigmatized, week after week, by every vile epithet known to the English language. These little points of contrast will at once suggest the propriety of the sort of financial parallel which I am about to institute.

Joseph Howe came before the public in 1827, has been on the stage about 15 years—and has, during that period, given his entire time to the country. In the discussion of public questions he has written and spoken a good deal—has had his share of responsibility, anxiety, and labour, in supporting what he believed to be right, and has drawn from the Provincial Revenues, the enormous sum, for two years allowance as speaker, of £400. This vast amount of public money has of course fully justified the charges of venality and corruption—selfishness, and wasteful disregard of the resources of the country, showered upon him in the Times and Observer.

Thomas N. Jeffrey was a member of Council in 1811, and I presume, was at that time Collector of the Customs at this port. For many years subsequently the officers of that department were paid by fee, and it has been conjectured that the Collector's share occasionally yielded from £3000 to £5000 per annum. Since the passage of the Colonial Act, Mr. Jeffrey's salary has been fixed at £2000 sterling, or £2,500 currency, and I am willing to take that as the maximum which he has received every year since 1811, and then it will appear that this great man has only drawn from the Revenues of the Country, in 31 years, the moderate and trifling sum of £77,500. This is really a very small amount for so distinguished a patriot—so able a writer—so eloquent a speaker—so accomplished a statesman—one who has done so much to advance the interests, elevate the intellectual character, and improve the institutions of Nova Scotia. The injustice done to this individual will be at once perceived, by placing his name, and earnings, side by side with those of the man who has nearly ruined the Country by swallowing up all its Revenues.

JOSEPH HOWE, For fifteen years service,	£400	T. N. JEFFREY, For thirty one years service,	£77,500
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Now can any body wonder that Jeffrey buys a Press, and puts it into the hands, now of a Parson, and then of a Lawyer, to expose the nefarious designs of a man who swallows up so much of the public revenue, and leaves him so paltry a share.

Let me take two other tolerably well known characters to form a second historical parallel.

HUGH BELL AND HENRY HERRIKIAN COGSWELL.

There are various reasons why I make this selection. Both have sprung from the humblest walks of life—both represented the Town of Halifax—both bear the title of Honourable—their ages are about the same, and both are very well known to the Community, for various reasons.

I have said that both sprung from the humblest walks of life. Mr. Bell's father was poor, and he was bred to a mechanical employment, and had to educate himself. Mr. Cogswell's origin was nearly, if not quite, as humble—but he contrived to get some education at Windsor, and studied Law,—his brother kept a butcher's shop for some time in Halifax, and his relatives are chiefly farmers in King's County. It will be seen, then, that in point of blood, and birth, and family connexions, there is no great difference between the two, and that those who blame Lord Falkland for selecting Mr. Bell, because he was not “born great,” can scarcely approve of the conduct of those who selected Mr. Cogswell.

Both represented the town of Halifax. Mr. Cogswell was once elected, but, after one trial the people laid him aside, for reasons which were considered quite sufficient at the time, but which need not be gone into here. Mr. Bell was called into public life in 1835, by a numerous and most respectable deputation of his fellow citizens, and elected without opposition. At the general election which followed, he was again returned by a handsome majority, and would have been triumphantly re-elected in 1840, but retired to make a vacancy for a personal and political friend.

Both bear the title of “Honourable.” Mr. Cogswell was elected to the Council after the people were tired of him, and the Sovereign getting tired of him also, he was subsequently again laid aside. Mr. Bell was elevated to the Council while possessing the confidence of the people, and still retains his seat and the confidence of the Crown.

Both have been industrious men, yet there is some difference in their worldly circumstances. Mr. Bell having had to encounter the ordinary risks and difficulties of business, and having “a heart open as day to melting charity,” and exercising to all who had claims upon him, an unostentatious and generous hospitality, is descending into the vale of years with but a moderate independence. Mr. Cogswell, pursuing the safe business of an attorney, enjoying peculiar advantages, and giving his whole soul to the beautiful science of accumulation, has become, it is supposed, immensely rich: in the eyes of the world, therefore, he has some advantages, in the eyes of him who “loves a cheerful giver,” and who has declared that it is difficult “for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven,” the distinction may not be so much in his favour.

In one other respect, these men's fortunes have been very unlike. Mr. Bell has all his life long discharged his duties as a citizen—paid taxes, and contributed his quota to support the Government of the Country and the institutions of the Town; he has served five years in the Assembly, one in the City Council, and two in the upper Branch of the Legislature, but has never held any office of profit or emolument, and never drawn from the Revenues of the country one farthing. Mr. Cogswell was called to the Bar in 1798. Shortly after he was appointed Clerk to the Rotation Court, some of the Justices of which used to allow him to collect their fees in addition to his own, so that, almost from the commencement of his life, he tasted the sweets of office. Mr. Cogswell was subsequently employed as Deputy Secretary and Registrar of the Province, and afterwards received the appointment of Registrar of the Court of Chancery, which he held until a few years ago. What the profits of these offices were, in the hands of a man like Mr. Cogswell, it is impossible to conjecture. All the community know is, that a poor attorney, never distinguished at the Bar, but who nearly all his life contrived to be in an office of some kind, has grown enormously rich, and they are disposed to judge the streams by the character of the pasture which they have fertilized. In contrasting, then, the two men whom I have selected, this fact strikes the mind forcibly—that while Mr. Bell has never been in office, Mr. Cogswell has rarely been out of one. Had they changed places—had Mr. B. been the Registrar, and Mr. C. taken to the shop, it is quite possible that the wealth which is bragged of on the one side might have belonged to the other, although I a little doubt whether Mr. B.'s generosity would not have increased with his means.

There is another view in which the characters and public services of these men should be considered. Mr. Bell, whatever good he may have done to the City of Halifax, and the Province of Nova Scotia, has done neither any evil, while Mr. Cogswell has been a chief party to one of the widest spread and most afflictive calamities which has ever fallen upon both. You are aware that the Legislature, many years ago, made a small issue of Treasury Notes—these were increased, from time to time, as the exigencies of the country required; but the whole Revenue being pledged for their liquidation—the amount in circulation being definitely known, and the management controlled by the Legislature, whether the policy of

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issuing these notes was sound or not, it is clear that, had they never been tampered with, no great mischief would have arisen from their circulation. Whatever the mischief was, even admitting for a moment that the policy was unsound, it was shared by the whole people, who also got the benefit of the issue, and whose united resources were pledged to maintain the character of this Paper. In an evil hour, Mr. Cogswell, having fattened on official employment, collected around him a few wealthy merchants, and established a Bank. An ingenious note was devised, "payable in gold, or silver, or Province Paper," the simple public believing they were to have which they chose, but finding, in the sequel, that they were to have just what the Bank chose to give them. Slowly and smoothly the work went on, until the Provinces were flooded with Cogswell & Co's notes. Money, that is, paper money, became suddenly abundant: Quire after quire, and ream after ream, of it, were manufactured at the Halifax Bank—any body could get as much of it as he wanted, by writing his own, and getting one or two other names, on a piece of paper. These pieces of paper were given to Cogswell & Co. who gave theirs in return, there being just this trifling distinction between the two, that, while upon every hundred pounds borrowed from the Province the Bank paid no interest, for every hundred pounds lent, the people of Nova Scotia had to pay $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. In process of time, by these sublime operations, Cogswell & Co. became enormously rich, and every body else became wretchedly poor. Almost every man in business, and all their friends and connections, were entangled in the net—by those "sudden contractions and expansions" which the Pictou Observer considers a modern feature of our commerce, but which originated in "the good old times," every species of property was raised or depressed in value at the nod of the wily President. Whatever the Bankers wanted to buy suddenly fell, and whatever they wanted to sell, as suddenly rose. The precious metals were driven from circulation, and, indeed, an idea was fast taking hold of the public mind, that this was a country which could do without them, and in which they could not be retained. If any man demanded specie he was cautioned—if he persisted, he was quieted, but marked—if it was a person who could be bullied, he was refused. Thus king Hezekiah ruled the land with his rod of paper—five partners, out of the eight who were concerned in the Bank, were members of the Executive and Legislative Councils, forming, with their relatives, a majority in both: the town was represented by a creature of the Bank, £20,000 a year of the labour and sweat of the people flowed into its vaults, and sound principles, commercial security, and political independence, appeared to be banished from the land.

By and bye the bubble burst. The people began to feel the miserable state of thraldom and degradation to which they had descended—a few energetic leaders rallied them to assert their independence, and that long and fierce struggle commenced, which only terminated when competition in Banking was secured—when specie payments were enforced by law and public opinion—when the Representation of the Town was purged, and Hezekiah and all his troop were swept from the Councils of the country. But who can forget the wide spread suffering and misfortune that this war of independence entailed—when Halifax resembled a "Deserted Village"—when half the shops were closed—a third of the houses unoccupied—when unsalable country produce was thrown over the wharves—and when our people, in thousands, were emigrating to the swamps of the South, and the wilds of the "far west," there to pluck the name of Briton, and the thoughts of childhood's home, from their aching hearts, and to rear a race of young Republicans in a foreign land, who should have "grown in beauty" beside their native streams, worn the May-flower on the 8th of June, and stood, in time of peril, "a wall of fire" around the soil against which, when thoroughly denationalized, they may live to draw the sword.

Hugh Bell, whatever may be his faults, had no share in this blessed work—it is therefore quite apparent, and here I shall finish my parallel, that those who abuse him, and praise Mr. Cogswell—who descent on the wealth and public services of the one, and the poverty and vices of the other, have a great deal of reason on their side.

SAMUEL CHIPMAN AND CHARLES WALLACE,

for some reasons, deserve to be compared. Their abilities are about equal. Education, and opportunity, have given some official dexterity to the one, which the other does not possess, but which is more than counterbalanced by natural shrewdness of intellect and firmness of character. If Sam had had Charles's advantages, he would have been an able man. If Charles had had

Sam's, he would not probably have ever risen much above the elements by which he was surrounded. Alike in some things, how different has been the fortunes of these two men. Mr. Chipman's father, old William Allen Chipman, a staunch old Constitutional, still living, represented the County of Kings for many years in the Legislature, faithfully, laboriously, zealously. But his opinions were liberal—he was in favour of free education, and fair play to all classes—was not ashamed to be called a Reformer, and often set his face against the powers that were. He has passed through a long life, and a long Parliamentary servitude, holding no office but the magisterial one, and never cost the country a farthing, living in comfort and independence in the midst of a large circle of connexions and friends, and prepared to lay down his head in peace amidst the scenes which his labours have embellished. He is one of those fine old yeoman, of whom thousands are to be found supporting the new principles, but who are called beggars, and people of no character, in the Times and Observer. Mr. Chipman's son has followed in the footsteps of his father—a friend to free education and fair play, he has always been a Reformer and a Responsible—he was not afraid to oppose a Government which he disliked, nor is he afraid, openly, steadily, and with his whole heart, to support one of which he approves. For about ten years he has represented his native Country, never having held a public office or costing the Province a farthing. He belonged to that "contemptibly, ignorant, and beggarly House of Assembly," which carried the fourteen measures.

Mr. Michael Wallace was also a member of the Assembly, but, failing in business, was appointed Treasurer of the Province, the former Treasurer having fortunately committed suicide about the time, in consequence of his salary being reduced, to prevent a repetition of which practice, that of the new incumbent was immediately raised. Mr. W. passed a long life in the enjoyment of official salary, a seat in the Councils, and the control of the Province funds, after he was a Bankrupt, and during all which time Mr. Chipman was living on his means, and serving the public for nothing. In process of time, Mr. Wallace's family grew up—they educated on the Windsor foundation, from which Mr. Chipman's sons were excluded, by tests and restrictions,—one of them was appointed Comptroller of the Customs, with a salary of £1,000 a year, another to several smaller sources of income, and his youngest born, the fortunate youth whose conduct has prompted this parallel, was sent to Scotland, to study medicine. He returned about the time that Mr. Chipman had won the confidence and esteem of a noble County—and, without official income or Collegiate advantages, had shewn the "metal of his pasture" sufficiently to prove his title to the suffrages of hundreds of his Countrymen, and his capacity to enter upon the honourable, but barren path of public life, where his father had found nothing but thorns, but which, when trod by his more fortunate contemporary, seemed redolent of perfume, and paved with gold. About the time that Mr. Samuel Chipman was preparing for the Legislature, in which he has served ten years without receiving a farthing, Mr. Charles Wallace came from Scotland, a young inexperienced Doctor, without practice, influence, or anything else, to give him a claim upon the Government or the people, yet the Iron Chest was handed over to him, and he has ever since rejoiced in rank and affluence which he never earned, but which enable him to encourage libellers to stigmatize Chipman as a Bankrupt Responsible, a rebel and a scoundrel.

"History" is said to be "Philosophy teaching, by examples." So far as these sketches may be considered historical, I have endeavoured to make them accurate, and at the same time instructive. I could continue these parallels for weeks, setting in humorous and graphic juxtaposition a score of Constitutionalists and Obstructives—of the supporters and opponents of the present Government; but enough has been done to teach the enemy a useful lesson—to show the people of Nova Scotia who they fed until they "have grown fat and kicked," and who have served them faithfully, disinterestedly and long, "without money and without price."

No. 9.

Come, here's the map; shall we divide our right?

SHAKESPEARE.

But let me put an end unto my theme,
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BYRON.

My labours are drawing to a close. There is but one of the strongholds of the Obstructives left standing, all the others, upon

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SHAKESPEARE.

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which they so confidently relied, are level with the ground—let me for a moment try whether they can rely upon its extent and durability, as a place of shelter—upon the strength of this last "refuge for the destitute," worsted as they are on every field of argument, and driven from every jungle where they lurked.

"We have all the wealth of the country on our side—the men of property are opposed to Lord Falkland—the Constitutionalists, who sustain the new policy, are men without means, represented by a contemptibly ignorant and beggarly House of Assembly," is the impudent boast, made by these Obstructives, in almost every sheet they publish, and at every corner where they aggregate. This monstrous lie they have told so often that they almost believe it themselves, and the complacency with which those of them who have one shilling to rub upon another strut about amidst the admiring glances of those who have not, whenever Murdoch and Wilkins, both of them rolling in riches, administer the grateful flattery through the Times and Observer, is very amusing.

The wealth of the Country against Lord Falkland, against the new principles!! that would indeed be a misfortune; for the Constitutionalists admit that those who own the property, generally possess much of the intelligence, of a country,—and, if assured that those who really own this Province, were opposed to the principles they advocate, they would prepare for the triumph of the Obstructives, and the restoration of the ancient regime. But the Constitutionalists believe that their right to the positions they occupy, is based, not only upon the soundness of their principles—upon their intelligence and capacity—but upon the ownership of the Country in which they dwell. In their name, I make the assertion, and am prepared to prove it, that the wealth of Nova Scotia is with Lord Falkland, and not against him, and that the Obstructives, who claim the whole, own but a fragment of the property of the Province.

The mistake which the Opposition fall into, is, in supposing that, because they have a few wealthy men in their ranks, they are all rich—because they have a few overgrown fortunes to point to, that they possess the entire rent-roll of the Province. I admit at once that they have two or three wealthy men, some of whom have so acquired riches as to forfeit all personal respect; I admit, that much of the wealth which has grown out of public employment—the boarded sweets of office, is on their side; but I deny their right to controul the government, upon this ground, and I assert that, even putting the case upon the sordid argument of property alone, they are entirely in the wrong.

Rothschild was a very much richer man than either Mr. Collins or Mr. Cogswell, but I never heard of his being a member of the Cabinet: his property has descended to his son—yet he is neither in the Lords nor the Commons, the Ministry nor the Privy Council—is neither Governor General of India, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, nor Governor General of Canada. Why? Simply, because, in England, a mere miser is never suspected of being a statesman, and because, in the high political and intellectual competition of a free country, a man must rise to those elevated stations by the exhibition, not of a sordid character which repels his fellow creatures, but of rare qualities that win confidence and command respect. Sir Robert Peel and Lord John Russell, Brougham, and Lyndhurst, have distanced, and would again, all the millionaires of England—and the audiences that hung enraptured upon poor Sheridan's brilliant oratory, would have turned with disgust from the pompous declamation of a fool who could pay the national debt. We must be prepared, in the Colonies, then, for what constantly occurs in England, for having richer men out of an Administration than any that are in it, without admitting that any argument can be drawn from the fact that injustice has been done the excluded, or that the principles of the Government are unsound.

But is the wealth of England against Sir Robert Peel because Rothschild is not in the ministry—because a very large proportion of the manufacturing and commercial classes are against him? No. Those who own the largest portion of the soil—the real estate—broad acres of England, are in his favour; and upon their support he comes into power, and would smile at any clique who denied his right to govern, even if one half the wealth of the country was against him. Upon the broad acres of Nova Scotia—which have been cleared by the labour and toil of its people, and which, with the wealth accumulated and accumulating upon them, in buildings, stock, and annual increase, Lord Falkland might safely take his stand, even if all the other classes were against him, for these vastly outweigh and cast into the shade all

other descriptions of property which exist in Nova Scotia—but while four fifths of all the acres, and the independent owners and occupiers who live upon them, are in his favour, a vast majority of all the other classes are also either supporters of his government, or friendly to those broad and liberal principles upon which it is administered.

Let me glance over the Province, to ascertain where all this property is that Wilkins and Gossip say they possess. Turning east, I find the whole Island of Cape Breton against them—they do not own a stick of it—there are not fifty freeholders in their favour—there is not a single man of any standing or influence, and I know most of them, who calls himself an Obstructive and openly avows the opinions of the Rump. The members from the Mining County of Cape Breton, the Commercial County of Richmond, and the fine Agricultural County of Inverness, support Lord Falkland, and openly avow Constitutional principles—there may be opposition to Mr. Uniacke, on the ground of non-residence—to Mr. Delany, from those who profess to be still more liberal, but there is no opposition, and can be none, on the ground that the Government is badly administered, and that the old system is better than the new.

Now, then, Messieurs Obstructives, mark this fact—the whole Island of Cape Breton is against you, and in favour of the new principles, and Cape Breton is rather a large slice of the wealth and property of the Province, which Lord Falkland has been sent to govern.

Let us step over into Guysboro', and what do we discover? For four years its former Representatives acted with the Reformers—one of these represents the County yet, and supports the present government; the other is opposed, and therefore it is but fair to give the Obstructives some property in Guysborough, although I shall wait to see a man mount the Hustings as an avowed opponent to the new principles, before I decide whether there is enough of it to make a member of Parliament, even there. In the adjoining County there never has been, and we hope never will be, a member avowing the political creed of Collins, Jeffrey & Co. I do not know a man of any standing, or political influence, in Sydney, who thinks with them—both its members are Constitutionalists, and support the present government, although one of them declined voting for the confidence resolution. In this fine county, then, teeming with agricultural productions, with hundreds of thousands of acres of the finest upland in the Province, where is the wealth, the property, of the Obstructives? echo answers where?

In passing into Pictou, it must be acknowledged, that a portion of the property and population are against us. The reason of this has been already explained, but it must be borne in mind that the oldest settlers, and a vast number of the most independent men, whether doing the business of the towns or improving the Agricultural settlements, are in favour of the new principles and with the government. Hundreds who are against us cannot read English, many of them cannot speak it, and we must wait until intellectual cultivation prepares the way for political enquiry. In Colechester I look in vain for the property of the Obstructives. There may be a party here opposed to a non-resident Candidate—there may be many who wish to break down old family influences, or who desire that a main road should run on one side of a river instead of the other; but there is no party worthy of the name opposed to Constitutional principles. Every township returns a Responsible—the County is represented by another, and the Candidate around whom the opposition to Mr. Dickson rallied, pledged himself to the new principles, at the Election, before a vote was given. I do not mean to say that Cogswell & Co. may not have a handful of admirers in Truro, but what I say is that their wealth, their property, whatever it may be, is but a miserable fragment of the whole. In Cumberland, so far as I know, the Obstructives are nearly as bad off. All its representatives support the Government—the people, I believe, approve of what they have done. The party that acted against the old Reformers, did so, partly from attachment to Mr. Stewart, partly perhaps because the new principles were not fully understood. The events of the past two years have reconciled many to the new state of things, and, although circumstances have given to the liberals no local victory, they, like the liberals everywhere, rejoice in the adoption of general principles of government, beneficial to the whole country, and ask only that they should be fairly carried out.

I run my eye over the noble Counties of Hants' and King's, and find every Township and every County seat filled by a Con-

situationalist. The Obstructives have not a representative of their opinions from Ardoise Hills to the Carriboo Bog. In all this beautiful tract of country, the garden of Nova Scotia, our opinions have taken deep root, and the slavish doctrines of the Rump are utterly despised. I do not mean to say that in this wide region there are not some Obstructives—that there may not be some determined partisans, and some men of substance and property against us; but I know that the great mass of the wealth, intelligence, enterprise, and public spirit, of this beautiful region, are with us, and that many who formerly feared that the Reformers were rushing on to extremes, are delighted that the Government of the country has settled down upon so broad and liberal a basis.

In crossing to Annapolis, we have to ride through the extensive, beautiful, and populous Township of Wilmot, embracing one half of the whole, before we can find above four or five Obstructives. At Bridgetown there was a knot who used to uphold the old system very fiercely, and another at the village of Annapolis, but many, even of these persons, are, I believe, now that the battle is over, disposed to live at peace with their neighbours, and give a fair trial to the new state of things. At all events I have not heard of their having given in their adherence to the Rump. It is probable that some of them think Uniacke and Dodd quite as safe guides as Wilkins and Gossip—and, at all events, even admitting that they do not, they are entitled to but half the Township of Granville, and even a smaller proportion of the Township of Annapolis, in any estimate of property which statistical politicians may attempt to frame.

In Digby there is no opposition to the present Government. Its united representation is in favour of the new principles, and approves of the measures and conduct of Lord Falkland. To say that there are not conflicting family and local interests here—that the struggles of the past have left behind them no jealousies and animosities, would be saying too much—but really I am at a loss to know who are the adherents of the Rump in this County, and who have taken service in Collins & Co's corps. Yet there is good deal of property in Digby,—to say nothing of the Villages, a traveller rides almost through a street from Bear River to Monteggan—the fertile fields of the Constitutionalists are spread on either hand, but the wealth of the opposition it would require keen eyes to discern.

With the south-western Counties of Yarmouth and Shelburne, I am, perhaps, more familiar than with many others. In each of them there has been for many years a little clique, similar to that in Halifax, who monopolized the Provincial and County offices, and, maintaining by scrupulous devotion the confidence of the old Council, did just what seemed right in their eyes. Possessing unlimited and irresponsible power, which they supposed was to last for ever, these persons paid little respect to the increasing numbers, the accumulating wealth, and the growing intelligence, of the people. By and bye they began to find that those who had subdued the forests—who had cleared farms and built brigs, and made both the land and sea tributary to their intelligence and enterprise, were disposed to assert their right to manage their own affairs. This was of course resisted, but with poor success. The people rose in their strength, and the power of the compacts was destroyed. From Port Hebert to Beaver River, these ancient Dynasties, like that in Halifax, are without a Representative in Parliament. To say that there are not some very worthy people, who still cling to the agreeable delusions of the olden time, when they belonged to a privileged class and had every thing their own way, and who dream of the restoration of influence and power, by some miraculous interposition of Providence, would be to misrepresent the real state of the case—to assert that they own no property, would be unfair—but when I assure you that the great aggregate of the wealth, as well as of the numbers and intelligence of these counties, is in favour of the new principles of Colonial Government, I only assert that which those who know any thing of them know to be the fact.

Lunenburg and Queen's, in former times, went with Uniacke and Dodd—they do so still, and I have no reason to yield to Cogswell and Co. any property in these Counties, until they have ascertained how many of the freeholders intend to march under their flag, and call themselves by their names. After the next general election, if they set up Candidates to oppose the gentlemen who now represent them, and who they assert have bartered away their independence, I will give them the benefit of all the wealth they may bring into the field. In the meantime, I must confess,

that, in looking over these Counties, they appear to be "poor indeed."

Having thus made the circuit of the Province, I enter the Metropolitan County without any misgivings, because, even if every man, and every stick of property within it, were opposed to our principles, and to Lord Falkland's Administration, supported as these are throughout the country, neither would have any thing to fear. But do the Rump own all the property within the County of Halifax? You shall judge. I have shewn you the extraordinary schemes resorted to by some of them to make money out of the misfortunes of their fellow creatures. I have shewn you how abundant and steady have been the streams poured from the public treasury into their pockets. I have not shewn you half the advantages they have had, from Contracts and Commissions, embracing, for years, the expenditure of almost every pound, Imperial and Provincial; and, therefore, if they do not own the whole County of Halifax, it really is a matter of some surprise. But do they own it? No. The industry, capacity and intelligence of the Constitutionalists, have acquired for them, without any of these advantages, a fair proportion, and, the wall of partition once broken down, and the good things of the Government fairly divided, the Rump will have little to boast of. How little they have, even now may be seen from these facts, that in 46 settlements outside the town of Halifax, embracing the entire fishing and agricultural portions of a County a hundred miles long, they have only the preponderance in one, the "ebony" district of Hammond Plains, while in many they do not own an acre or influence a man. In Halifax proper, they are more fortunate—but even here a vast proportion of the solid, substantial wealth, of the community—of that which has been acquired by honest industry, frugality, and well directed enterprise, is on the side of the new principles, and in favour of the Government. In the central ward of the City, Mr. Bolton had a majority, with a twenty pound franchise—and, without any combined action, or great effort on the part of the liberals, the Mayor, and nearly one half of the City Council, are friendly to the new principles. Many men of wealth, and a majority of that substantial middle class, who are above the world, without being above their business, are Constitutionalists; and yet a parcel of needy scribes, who have been half their lives preying upon their fellow creatures, without one shilling to rub upon another, are all the time representing those who own one half the freeholds on the Peninsula, and seven-eighths of all the landed property within the bounds of the County of Halifax, as people without intelligence, respectability or means.

Let me sum up this review, in such a way that persons, at home and abroad, may clearly understand it.

Premising that our representation is based upon *property*, upon that best and most permanent kind of property *real estate*—and that 25,000 freeholders are entitled to vote: what do we find? That 21,000 of these are in favor of Lord Falkland's Administration, and 4,000 against it, and, separating the four "Responsibles" from the representatives of the Rump who voted against the confidence resolution, what do we find? Why, that there are 23,000 freeholders, or owners of landed property, in Nova Scotia, in favour of the new principles of Colonial Government, and 2,000 against them; and yet the scribes who administer to the bad passions of this slender minority, continually insult the majority, by decanting on their poverty, and declaring that those who own 23 parts out of 25 of the entire surface of the Province, are men without intelligence, property, or independence, who should surrender themselves to the guidance of a few persons who have grown rich by battenning on their vitals, and of a few others, who have not, for years, while they have been bragging of their means, had one shilling to rub upon another.

Here, for the present, my fellow-countrymen, I shall close this series of papers. When I commenced them it was my intention to have scourged, unsparingly, a greater number of those whom folly had compelled me to take up my pen. In laying it down, I am conscious that many are relieved who ought not to be allowed to escape. But all wars—even defensive ones—should be prosecuted only so long as is necessary to redress insult, and to exhibit decided mastery over the aggressor. All beyond this is sheer cruelty and oppression. Though I may not, then, have done all I promised, I have done all that is required. If I have given the Obstructives more of argument, and less of personality, than they expected, and if a good many find themselves more frightened than hurt, it is because they did not come within the

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exact number which were thought necessary for a salutary example. Let the past teach them a useful lesson, to keep themselves out of bad company, remembering, that, as the law does not only punish those who commit a crime, but all who are found aiding and abetting, a gentleman who is villified and slandered has the right to take his choice of the circle from whence the nuisance proceeds. The petticoats I have left unrumped—these are the only Obstructive arguments for which I have any respect—the only ones that are not torn to pieces.

For the present I lay down my pen. Whether or not it will be resumed, at any future time, will depend upon the conduct of the opposition. It is not probable that I shall mind, for months, any thing that is written or said. If I find that time corrects the

tone of the Obstructive Press, that those who write for it are learning to reason like gentlemen, and not vituperate like blackguards, it is not likely that I shall appear in print again, or at all events, if I do, it will be to show that the Constitutionalist is able to hold their ground, by the laws and with the weapons of civilised warfare, however chivalrous and refined. On the contrary, should the Rump continue the system which provoked the severe lesson they have now been taught, upon their own heads be the consequences. They know that the publisher is not afraid to print, they know the weight of my hand, and they know not the day nor the hour when they may find in their midst their old friend and servant to command,

A CONSTITUTIONALIST.